SOCIAL SCIENCE

The CRISIS

September, 1939 ● Fifteen Cents

PUBLIC LIBRARY
SEP 6 - 1939
DETROIT

Morgan Smith Photo

JUSTICE JANE M. BOLIN

(First Negro woman judge in the U.S.A. — see page 262)

It's up to YOU

A New Chicago Defender

17 Weeks - - $1.00

ONCE in awhile an offer comes along so good that you can't afford to miss it. This is such an offer—the next 17 issues of THE NEW CHICAGO DEFENDER are yours for only —$1.00.

New policies, new features, more news, better pictures, and new type to make an easier-to-read newspaper, all have been poured into the making of the NEW CHICAGO DEFENDER.

Whatever you want in a weekly newspaper you will find in THE CHICAGO DEFENDER. News from everywhere . . . interesting Women's Pages . . . complete Sports . . . funny cartoons . . . interesting features that appeal to every member of the family.

Make the World's most interesting weekly, a regular reading habit.

SUBSCRIBE NOW

To Enjoy This Special Rate — 17 weeks — $1.00

MAIL $1.00 AT OUR RISK TO

THE Chicago Defender
WORLD'S GREATEST WEEKLY

3435 Indiana Ave. Chicago, Illinois

MORE MONEY FOR AGENTS

Mr. J. H. Lowe wrote us in December, 1938, "I can no longer sell The Chicago Defender profitably. My customers are increasing weekly, but because of extra work required the profit margin is not large enough to allow me to make any money. I will send you the money I owe you, but don't send any more papers. I also have some suggestions to make regarding reader interest.

Sincerely,
J. H. Lowe"

January 1 we answered the challenge of interest and profit margin. Today in answer to many agents who felt as "J. H. L." did, we are producing a NEW CHICAGO DEFENDER with more news, new cartoons, new features, and easier to read type. But the real news is that agents' profits on each paper are doubled. When J.H.L. heard the good news he tried again. Now he finds his customers eager to buy. He increased his order from 100 to 200 copies. His margin of profit has doubled.

Extra money comes easy if you will write THE CHICAGO DEFENDER for new agent's offer. Mention CRISIS advertisement. Don't delay! Someone may get your territory.

Name.....

Address.....

City.....State.....

Fisk University
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE
Approved by the Association of American Universities
Offers A.B., A.M., and Mus.B. Degrees
For information address:
Dr. Harold F. Smith, *Registrar*

DILLARD UNIVERSITY
NEW ORLEANS
An Institution for Men and Women Who Desire To Learn and to Lead—to Learn With Thoroughness and to Lead With Wisdom and Understanding
For Information address
THE REGISTRAR

BENNETT COLLEGE
Greensboro, North Carolina
A Distinctive College for Daughters of Discriminating Parents
Cultural Atmosphere
Well Trained Faculty
Ample Facilities
Registration for New Students September 14, 1939
Registration for Returning Students September 19, 1939
For Further Information Write REGISTRAR

Knoxville College
KNOXVILLE, TENN.
Beautiful Situation and Healthful Location. Best Moral and Spiritual Environment. Splendid Intellectual Atmosphere. Noted for Honest and Thorough Work.
Fully Accredited for Teachers' Certificates by State Board
Home like Dormitory Life with Careful Supervision
Live Athletic and Literary Interests
COURSES: College and Music
Expenses Very Reasonable
Catalog and other literature sent free upon request
Address KNOXVILLE COLLEGE
KNOXVILLE, TENN.

AGRICULTURAL, MECHANICAL & NORMAL COLLEGE
Pine Bluff, Arkansas
Courses leading to A.B. or B.S.
Competent Faculty *Excellent Facilities*
J. B. WATSON, President

St. Mary's School
An Episcopal boarding school for girls, under the direction of the sisters of St. Mary. Address: THE SISTER-IN-CHARGE, 6138 Germantown Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.

COLLEGE AND SCHOOL NEWS

Doxey A. Wilkerson, Associate professor of Education, and Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, professor of Social Science at **Howard University,** have been granted a year's leave of absence to be associated with the study of "The Negro in America," sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation of New York. Prof. Wilkerson will direct the educational aspects of the study and Dr. Bunche will assist him.

Final registration for the **Atlanta University** summer school was 892, which included 14 enrolled in the Ministers Institute, and 160 in the Progressive Education Demonstration School.

The Rural Institute directed by Benjamin F. Bullock enrolled 198, an increase of 29% over last year.

Horace Mann Bond, president of the State College at Ft. Valley, Georgia, has been named visiting lecturer in education at **Atlanta University** for the academic year 1939–40.

The new dining hall at **Prairie View State College** has been completed and ready for occupancy September 1. With its equipment it cost $100,000. It contains three rooms for students and two rooms for teachers. Total capacity: 1500. A new teachers' apartment is to be built at a cost of $3,000, and a new filling station erected at a cost of $2,500.

Instead of the Southern Workman, 67-year-old official organ of **Hampton Institute** which ceased publication in July, the Institute will issue periodical news bulletins.

For special work in the educational problems of the Southern States, The Souther Education Foundation recently sent 52 Jeanes Teachers to **Hampton Institute.**

Forty-one candidates received baccalaureate degrees from **West Virginia State College** summer school on August .

A two weeks intensive training course in methods of teaching Vocational Agriculture was given at the College the latter part of July.

On August 4, President John W. Davis was honored on the occasion of

MORGAN COLLEGE
Hillen Road and Arlington Avenue
Baltimore, Md.
GENERAL STATEMENT—Morgan is a college of liberal arts which trains high school teachers, prepares students for the study of medicine, dentistry, law, graduate study; home economics, commerce, music and general cultural courses are available.
THE REGULAR SESSION—The regular school session, with classes held on the campus, provides courses of study leading to the Bachelor of Arts or Bachelor of Science Degrees.
THE SUMMER SESSION—The summer session is operated for six weeks, primarily for the benefit of public school teachers.
AFTERNOON AND EVENING CLASSES—The demands for teacher-in-service training have caused Morgan College to offer afternoon, evening and Saturday courses.
INFORMATION—For catalogue or detailed information write to the Registrar.

LINCOLN UNIVERSITY
Jefferson City, Missouri
The School With A Future
Liberal Arts
Teacher Training
Mechanic Arts
Home Economics
Founded 1866
For Information . . . Write the Registrar

St. Augustine's College
Raleigh, North Carolina
Founded 1867
(Auspices Protestant Episcopal Church)
College of Liberal Arts
College Preparatory Department
Training School for Nurses
School for Religious Education and Social Service
The "Big Family" School
For complete information write
THE REGISTRAR

Atlanta University
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
A Graduate School of Arts and Sciences Offering Work Leading to the Master's Degree
Class A Rating with the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Southern States
For Bulletin, Address THE REGISTRAR

MEHARRY MEDICAL COLLEGE
Schools of Medicine, Dentistry, Dental Hygiene and Nurse Training
For information write
The Registrar, Meharry Medical College, Nashville, Tennessee

Mention THE CRISIS to Our Advertisers

Atlanta University School of Social Work

Two Year Curriculum Leading to Master of Social Work Degree

Graduate Professional Education in Social Work, With Special Courses Offering Preparation for the Problems Which Confront Social Workers in Negro Communities.

Special Emphasis Placed on Recent Developments in Public Social Work With Accompanying Field Work Practice.

Member of the American Association of Schools of Social Work.

For Further Information, Write

FORRESTER B. WASHINGTON, A.M.
Director
247 Henry Street, Southwest, Atlanta, Georgia

WILEY COLLEGE

a nationally accredited class "A" institution devoted to the Christian education and training of Negroes,

Offers: Degree Courses in Liberal Arts and sciences and Home Economics.
Special Courses in Art, Business, Beauty Culture, Library Science, Music, Physical Education.
Extra-curricular activities duly stressed.

Draws students from 22 states, the District of Columbia, and two foreign countries.

Direct inquiries to President M. W. Dogan, Marshall, Texas.

1866 1932

RUST COLLEGE

POLICY—Co-Educational.
COURSES—Quarter-hour credit system. Liberal Arts; Elementary and Advanced Courses in Education; Pre-Medical, Home Economics, Music and Business.
FACULTY—University trained.

For further information write:
L. M. McCoy, President
Holly Springs, Mississippi

2105 7th Ave., Cor. 125th St. • BUSINESS • New York City Mo. 2-6086
WASHINGTON INSTITUTE
A Professional School of Collegiate Grade
Specializing in
Stenography • Bookkeeping
Typewriting • Accounting
INDIVIDUAL INSTRUCTION
Inquire—Register Now—Catalogues on Request

Talladega College

Talladega, Alabama.

"Education Without Caste"

— a realistic and genuine college, where the student learns what it is all about and what to do about it all.

Address the Dean

his twentieth anniversary as head of the institution.

Arkansas State College conferred 73 degrees during the past school year. A class of 26 was honored at the spring convocation; 47 received the Bachelor's degree and three the two-year college certificate in Elementary Education at the recent closing exercises, at which Dr. Charles D. Hubert, President of Morehouse College was the speaker.

The **Morgan College** summer school this year had an enrollment of 395, mostly school teachers. They came from eight states.

One of the big events of the session was a visit to the New York World's Fair on July 22, conducted by the Geography Department under the guidance of Mrs. Mildred Lewis Pindell. A special air-conditioned coach was engaged on the Baltimore and Ohio railroad.

Important faculty changes have been announced by **Bennett College.** Dr. Alberta Turner, Ph.D. from Ohio State University in psychology and home economics will direct the Nursery School and Miss Lydia M. Jetton, Bennett graduate and M.A. from the University of Wisconsin will resume her duties as member of the home economics staff.

John Grant Turner will assume the work of Miss Merze Tate who is studying on leave at Harvard and Radcliffe on a Rosenwald scholarship. Mrs. Maggie B. Daniels, M.A., University of Wisconsin, and formerly Professor of English at Wiley College, will succeed Dr. W. Edward Farrison who resigned to head the Department of English in the Graduate School of North Carolina College at Durham.

Mrs. Constance H. Marteena, former secretary to the President, will be in charge of the new library, assisted by Mrs. Willie Moorhead Grimes.

Miss Florence Carter will assist in physical education; Miss Blanche Wyche, B.S. Hampton, will be secretary

JOHNSON C. SMITH UNIVERSITY

Charlotte, North Carolina
(Under Presbyterian Auspices)

Co-educational Institution of High Rating

2 UNITS

College of Liberal Arts
Theological Seminary

Highly Trained Faculty and First Class Equipment

For information write
H. L. McCRORY - - - - - - - *President*

CHEYNEY TRAINING SCHOOL for TEACHERS

A STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE
CHEYNEY, PA.

A Pennsylvania State Teachers College offering professional courses as follows:
Two-Year Curriculum: Primary, Intermediate-State Certificates.
Four-Year Curriculum: Elementary Education-B. S. Degree.
Four-Year Curriculum: Home Economics - B. S. Degree.
Four-Year Curriculum: Industrial Arts-B. S. Degree.
Tuition Free to Residents of Pennsylvania
Graduation from a standard four year high school required for admission
For further information and catalog write to
LESLIE PINCKNEY HILL, *President*
CHEYNEY, PA.

LINCOLN UNIVERSITY

Approved by

College and University Council of Penna. American Medical Society and Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Middle States and Maryland.

For complete information write

REGISTRAR
Lincoln University, Chester Co., Penna.

Johnson C. Smith University

CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA

(Under Presbyterian Auspices)

A Co-educational Institution of High Rating

THREE UNITS

College of Liberal Arts, Junior College for Women (Barber-Scotia, Concord, N. C.) and Theological Seminary.
Women admitted to the two upper years of the College of Liberal Arts.

Highly Trained Faculty and First Class Equipment

For information write
H. L. McCROREY, *President*

STORER COLLEGE

HARPERS FERRY, W. VA.

Graduates its first class with degrees at the June Commencement.

For over seventy years this school has been famous for its thorough scholarship and success in character building. Notable changes have been made this year in dormitory, library and science equipment.

For catalog, illustrated booklet and various pamphlets describing advantages and equipment, write

THE PRESIDENT

Limited opportunities for self help Scholarships

CHARLES L. MAXEY, Jr. & CO.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS
CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOL AND STUDIO
Accountancy, Mathematics, Business, Etc.

We specialize in opening, closing and auditing books of corporations as well as making income tax reports. We have a highly trained force of teachers and accountants to look after the interests of correspondence students.

85 West 118th St., New York City MOnument 2-3498

LEMOYNE COLLEGE

An American Missionary Association School

MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Mention THE CRISIS to Our Advertisers

HOWARD UNIVERSITY

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Chartered by Act of Congress
March 2, 1867
Seventy-second Year of Service
Begins September 26, 1939

National and International in Scope and Influence

Applications Now Being Received
For School Year 1939-40

10,537 Graduates from All Departments of the University. Nine Schools and Colleges: College of Liberal Arts; School of Engineering and Architecture; School of Music; Graduate School; School of Religion; School of Law; College of Medicine; College of Dentistry and College of Pharmacy.

Registration First Semester
September 23, 1939
Registration Second Semester
February 5, 1940

For Announcements of the Several Schools and Colleges, and for Applications for Permit to Register, Address

THE REGISTRAR
HOWARD UNIVERSITY
Washington, D. C.

Earn $50 to $75 Weekly
After learning the
APEX SYSTEM
of Scientific Beauty Culture

OTHERS ARE DOING IT—SO CAN YOU

YOUR success in life depends upon your own efforts, you have the ability to make an independent living, so here is your opportunity, take immediate advantage of it.

COST OF COURSE REASONABLE — SMALL DOWN PAYMENT — BALANCE WEEKLY — APEX COLLEGE DIPLOMAS AWARDED

APEX BEAUTY COLLEGE

New York Philadelphia Chicago Richmond Baltimore Washington Atlantic City Brooklyn Newark Atlanta

For further information write
Apex College, 200 W. 135th St., New York City

REGISTER NOW!

to the President, and Miss Mary S. Washington, B.S. Hampton, will teach stenography.

Miss Eva Hamlin will be on leave for the year studying at Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Miss Willa B. Player, Registrar and head of French Department, returns after graduate study at the University of Wisconsin.

The first summer institute of Parent Education and Child Development closed on August 4. It was directed by Dr. Flemmie P. Kittrell, head of Home Economics Department.

You'll Understand!

By JOSEPHINE COPELAND

You made a mockery of love
While I in all sincerity
Plucked my heart from
My bosom, and offered it
On my knees, so humbly.
You spurned it scornfully,
Not heeding the hurt of me.
But some day when love
Steals upon you, unsuspectingly,
Then you will understand,
With pity in your heart for me.

Southern Comedy on a Bus

By OCTAVE LILLY, JR.

One day the white man sat behind the screen.
Conductor bowed and scraped and set it right—
Sure, that was social sacrilege; it might
Endanger prestige on the southern scene—
Cause chaste and trusting maids of guileless mien
To blush with shame and shock because the light
Of white supremacy received this blight!
And think—some of them only seventeen..
The Negro sat before the screen one day.
Conductor fumed and cursed and set it right—
Sure, that was damned impertinence; it might
Some day give niggers nerve enough to say:
"Don't put that goddamned screen in front of me;
I'm black—but offer no apology."

Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA

COURSES
Arts and Sciences
Technical Home Economics
Music Agriculture

WE INVITE INSPECTION
J. R. E. LEE, President

LIVINGSTONE COLLEGE
SALISBURY, N. C.

A Private Co-Educational College —Strong Faculty—Modern Equipment—Approved Rating by Accrediting Agencies.

Courses leading to B.A and B.S. Degrees offered in the College of Liberal Arts and Leading to the B.D. Degree in School of Religion. Training in Education leading to High School and Grammar Grade Certificates. All Athletics. 58th Annual Session begins with Freshman-Week, September 15th. Address the Registrar for Catalog.

W. J. TRENT, *President.*

THE Y. W. C. A. TRADE SCHOOL

Complete Courses Leading to Diploma or Certificate in
SECRETARIAL and BUSINESS SCHOOL
(Registered by New York State Board of Regents)
DRESSMAKING and DESIGNING SCHOOL
Fancy Pressing and Machine Pressing
Garment Machine Operation
Millinery, French Flowermaking
HOUSEHOLD EMPLOYMENT SCHOOL
SCHOOL for PRACTICAL NURSES
(Approved by New York State Department of Education)
BEAUTY CULTURE SCHOOL
Offered as full-time or part-time day or evening or as short unit courses

179 W. 137th Street New York, N. Y.
AUdubon 3-2777

Train for Careers in:
Business
Tailoring
Homemaking
at
BEREAN SCHOOL
40th YEAR OPENS
October 2, 1939
Write Registrar NOW
South College Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.
Blanche Williams Anderson, Principal

GAMMON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
Accredited Theological School for Training Negro Ministers
Willis J. King, President
Atlanta, Georgia

BOOKS College and School Texts Best Sellers—Negro
New—Used—Exchange
BIG DISCOUNTS
CO-OPERATIVE BOOK COMPANY
229 W. 131st Street New York, N. Y.

BOOKS ON THE NEGRO
UNIVERSITY PLACE BOOK SHOP
69 University Place New York, N. Y.
Write for Free Catalogue

BUILD A BETTER 1940
Use Our New Calendars
More Glamorous, Effective and Better than ever Thermometers, Pencils, Fans, Mirrors, Matches, etc.
COMMERCIAL AD, Inc.
2350 Seventh Avenue, New York City

LEADING NEGRO LAWYERS
See Page 284

THE CRISIS

Founded 1910

REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

A Record of the Darker Races

Published by THE CRISIS PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

DR. LOUIS T. WRIGHT, *President* WALTER WHITE, *Secretary*

MRS. LILLIAN A. ALEXANDER, *Treasurer*

Volume 46, No. 9 *Whole No. 345*

CONTENTS FOR SEPTEMBER, 1939

COVER

Justice Jane M. Bolin, New York City

A LOOK AT THE N.A.A.C.P. Page

By William H. Hastie 263

MRS. ROOSEVELT AWARDS MEDAL

Speech of the First Lady at Richmond 265

30th ANNUAL CONFERENCE PICTURES ...266-267

PRESIDENT SPINGARN DIES 269

A LETTER FROM GUY B. JOHNSON

Dr. Johnson clarifies his commencement address 271

EDITORIALS 273

FROM THE PRESS OF THE NATION 275

WASHINGTON FIGHTS

New Spirit in the Nation's Capital, Says John Lovell, Jr. 276

ALONG THE N.A.A.C.P. BATTLEFRONT

A report on the conference, text of the resolutions, and news from the branches 278-283

THE CRISIS *was founded in 1910. It is published monthly at 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y., by Crisis Publishing Company, Inc., and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The subscription price is $1.50 a year or 15c a copy. Foreign subscriptions $1.75. The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscriber may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while* THE CRISIS *uses every care it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November 2, 1910, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879, and additional second class entry at Albany, N. Y.*

The contents of THE CRISIS *are copyrighted. Copyright 1939 by The Crisis Publishing Company, Inc. All rights reserved.*

THE COVER

Miss Jane M. Bolin became on July 22 the first colored woman Judge in the United States when Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia appointed her and swore her in as a justice of the Court of Domestic Relations of the City of New York. The appointment is for ten years and the salary is $12,000 a year.

Miss Bolin, who in private life is the wife of Ralph E. Mizelle, Washington, D. C., attorney, is a graduate of Wellesley College and the Yale law school. She was born in Poughkeepsie, N. Y., the daughter of Gaius C. Bolin, an attorney who for many years was president of the Poughkeepsie branch of the N.A.A.C.P. Following her graduation from Yale law school, Miss Bolin was admitted to practice in New York in 1932. In 1937 she was named as an assistant corporation counsel and assigned to the Court of Domestic Relations. The retirement of another justice who had reached the age limit created an opening which Mayor LaGuardia filled by appointing Miss Bolin.

NEXT MONTH

The October number will have a short article on the West Indies by Ira DeA. Reid entitled, "Leaves from a Jamaica Diary."

From London George Padmore sends another of his articles, "Fascism Invades West Africa." There will be a piece, also, on college fraternities and sororities by Randolph Edmonds.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

William H. Hastie, former United States judge in the Virgin Islands, has been since July 1 dean of the law school of Howard university, Washington, D. C. He is a member of the board and of the national legal committee of the N.A.A.C.P.

•

Dr. Guy B. Johnson is a member of the faculty of the University of North Carolina now on leave to aid in directing the study of the Negro in America being financed by the Carnegie Corporation, with offices in New York City.

•

John Lovell, Jr., is secretary of the newly reorganized branch of the N.A.A.C.P. in the District of Columbia and is active in other civic movements there.

A Look at the NAACP

By William H. Hastie

This outline of the Association's work in the past and a forecast of future activity was delivered by Judge Hastie in his keynote address at the 30th annual conference in Richmond, Va.

MOST of what will be said in this review and forecast of NAACP work was written in June, 1939. Joel E. Spingarn was then president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He is now dead. He would never have claimed or considered that he deserved credit for the service rendered by the Association to a race and to a nation during his long career as one of its guiding personalties or during the decade of his presidency. Yet we know that the achievements of the Association under his leadership and the bright promise of its future are the appreciable evidences of his wisdom and zeal.

It was in 1930 that Joel E. Spingarn became president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In that very year and through the agency of this Association, America was made to realize that, after a long lapse following the Reconstruction, the Negro again had become a powerful and an important figure in national politics. The dramatic occasion for that demonstration was the battle in the United States Senate against the confirmation of Judge John J. Parker, President Hoover's nominee to become a Justice of the Supreme Court. The National Association and the American Federation of Labor waged that fight against the full power of a national administration; and they won it. That victory and the subsequent defeat of Senators who had voted to confirm the Parker nomination probably impressed the nation more than any other single thing accomplished by the American Negro during the 20th century. For years to come it will remain fresh and persuasive in the minds of politicians and all aspirants to Federal office.

Less sensational, but no less significant was the grant of a sum of money to the NAACP in 1930 for an offensive against specific types of discrimination. That grant was followed by a decision to devote a large part of the fund and an increasing portion of the energies of the national staff to a frontal assault upon discrimination in public education. This was the beginning of a campaign which already has made possible the epochal court decisions in the University of Maryland case and the University of Missouri case, and actively manifests itself today from Maryland and Virginia to Florida in the demands of Negro teachers that salary discriminations be abolished.

New Secretary

The year 1930 also marked another change in leadership. Walter White succeeded James Weldon Johnson as secretary. Serious as were the losses to the Association in the retirement of its secretary, Mr. Johnson, and the death of its president, Moorfield Storey, the organization had gained such strength under their administration and had such confidence in its new leaders that the future could be viewed without trepidation. President Spingarn's letter of acceptance contains a paragraph which may well be quoted at this point:

"Perhaps few of us realize what an extraordinary Association ours really is. Every shade of opinion, political, economic, social and religious is represented on our board and in our membership. It is one of the few organizations in the world in which men and women who believe in things as they are and those who favor a complete reconstruction of the social order have been able to work in harmony and to serve a single cause."

Truly, as Mr. Spingarn said, the ability of the Association to attract and hold such a diverse membership is a source of great strength. Of course it is also necessary that there be constant vigilance in order that this very diversity not impose such restrictions upon the Association as will hamper it and restrict its usefulness to activities calculated to meet the approval of all points of view in so varied a membership.

Apart from the Parker fight, the beginning of the campaign against educational inequalities, and changes in leadership, the activities of the Association as it entered its third decade were such as already had come to be recognized as typical of the NAACP. The Association stood as a great watch dog, alert and ready to defend against particular instances of discrimination suffered by Negroes in the unpredictable course of human events. Unfair trials of Negroes in court, new residential restrictions, segregation of Gold Star Mothers, serious racial affronts and insults of all kinds were the concern of the national office and local branches.

World Problems

At the same time national and world events were bringing into sharp focus political, social and economic mal-adjustments of a general character, affecting the Negro along with other human beings. The Association felt the impact of these larger forces in the decrease of its revenues. And its leadership was not unaware of momentous events in sectors other than the racial front. It was becoming increasingly futile to think and act solely in terms of racial betterment. As one officer of the Association put it, there was need "to make common cause between the so-called Negro problem and other social problems of peace and war, of labor and the distribution of wealth, of the further emancipation of women, of industrial democracy and the curbing of imperialism—and of a dozen other problems—from which no great social problem can long successfully be segregated."

So, the 1930s began with many indications that the NAACP was at the beginning of a period in which expanding activity and growing influence would greatly increase its usefulness to the nation and accelerate the advancement of colored people to which it was dedicated. On the financial side there was danger of red in the ledger, but all other signals were green. How was that promise fulfilled?

The program of the Association has expanded in one direction that was not anticipated in 1930. Since 1932 the Federal Government has entered into the economic life of the nation and has undertaken to perform social services to an extent and over an area much larger than could possibly have been foreseen. Spending billions to furnish jobs, housing and recreation, to improve health, to provide credit, to subsidize education, to pension the aged, the Federal Government has come to a position of enormous influence in the entire life of the nation. Not only the existence of employment, but also its conditions—wages, hours, preferences, the treatment of labor unions, attitudes toward racial and religious minorities—can be and are being influenced profoundly by the Federal Government. Federal policies could and can contribute largely to the improving of the disadvantaged status of

labor generally and to the lessening of discrimination against Negro labor in particular. Racial attitudes reflected in Government-financed enterprises of various types are potentially significant for the modification of the pattern of American life.

Fights Against Discrimination

In this situation the Association joined other national organizations in forming and supporting the Joint Committee on National Recovery to work in Washington and in the field for such objectives as have just been suggested. In addition the Association has worked from the beginning to remedy discriminatory practices in Government-financed enterprises. As early as 1932 the NAACP waged a successful fight to substitute reasonable wages, hours and living conditions for the semi-slavery of labor on the Mississippi Flood Control projects of the War Department. Since the beginning of the Roosevelt Administration the countless projects of PWA and WPA, large enterprises like TVA, such important legislation as the Wagner Labor Relations Act and the more recent Fair Labor Standards Act have presented problems of a variety and complexity that cannot even be outlined here. The job of keeping track of new proposals and analyzing them; the problem of learning the administrative procedures of a great many independent agencies; the bringing of pressure while administrative policies are in their formative stages; and the effort to correct abuses and injustices as varied as the ingenuity of man, make up a tremendous undertaking. While the Joint Committee on National Recovery was functioning in Washington a continuing organized effort on this front was possible. Since that time, the efforts of the NAACP have been effective in remedying abuses in particular cases and in influencing administrative policy to some degree. But limitations of time, money and personnel have prevented a continuing organized program in this field. Our branches need a source of information and guidance in order that they may understand what so many agencies are doing and how they may effectively deal with the local aspects of national programs as they affect Negro labor.

For the Right to Vote

A similar need exists with reference to other benefits; Federal aid to education, the activities of Federal lending agencies, the work of the CCC, to suggest a few. Our branches should know how these agencies work and how the citizen may approach the problem of their functioning in his community. But again, it is impossible for the limited national staff of the Association to deal effectively with such matters when they are part time and over time duties added to schedules already full. Until the Association is able to maintain a staff in Washington, working continuously upon such problems, feeding information to the branches, stimulating and assisting their local activities and in turn receiving their support when pressure is necessary on matters of general policy in Washington, much important work must remain undone.

Many persons believe that the struggle for the ballot is the most important phase of the Negro's effort to improve his status in America. Certainly, there is no more trenchant weapon than the ballot in such a nation as ours. During the 1930s the Association has scored notable victories in the campaign for the ballot. The conviction and fining of an election official in Wilkesboro, North Carolina, for refusing to register qualified Negro voters has influenced election officials in North Carolina and wherever else news of this conviction has spread.

The recent successful attack upon the Oklahoma registration law points the way to the removal of other obvious legislative devices for the disenfranchisement of the Negro. Within the last year in at least one large urban community Negroes have defied and overcome the cruder methods of terrorization and intimidation employed to keep them away from the polls. All of these lines of advance can and will lead to new victories in the years immediately ahead.

The most promising aspect of the picture is the increasing interest of particular communities in the ballot and the organized insistence of Negroes that they be permitted to vote. It is no secret that the working people of the South have long been unrepresented and misrepresented by a great number of elected officials both at home and in Washington. If the drive of the Negro for the ballot can be allied with the growing interest of all southern toilers in the ballot and the interest of all can be focused upon the election of officials who represent working class interests, a fundamental solution of the suffrage problem will not be far off. Such orientation of the fight for the ballot should be the concern and one of the major activities of every branch of the NAACP. It is not just the disenfranchisement of the Negro which enables some Congressmen to be elected by a mere 10,000 of their constituents while in other areas of equal population more than 50,000 voters are required to win a Congressional election.

For Better Schools

Probably the struggle of the NAACP against educational disadvantages in the South has attracted more attention during the past ten years than any phase of its activities. I have already mentioned the beginning of the campaign in 1930. At the outset, months, even years, of study were necessary in order that the statutes of the various states might be assembled and analyzed, the general principles of law examined and thoroughly understood, the various types of discrimination, some covert and clever, others crude and brazen, studied and the possibilities of attack upon them canvassed. We have seen interest in the struggle increase and spread throughout the South. We have seen a few sensational victories in the courts.

Now we stand at a point where the South must take a fresh look at public education from the nursery school and the kindergarten to the graduate school and the university, and determine whether it will move toward the abolition of discriminations all along the line, whether it will soberly take stock and realize that sooner or later the cost of separate education will become prohibitive. It will be sooner at the university and graduate level where the number of students is smaller and the corresponding waste of the dual system is greater.

In this connection it may well be asked why we should anticipate that anything substantial will be done after the excitement of a few sensational court cases has worn off. Almost all of the principles of law involved in the fight for equality in public education were announced by the Supreme Court fifty years ago. Yet, with the legal duty to maintain equality despite racial segregation in education long clear in the decisions of the courts, the southern states have pursued a policy of increasing the disparity between white and Negro education, rather than decreasing it.

In such circumstances why should we anticipate at this late date a real effort to comply with the law of the land? And why should we believe that attempted evasions will be less successful in the future than they have been in the past?

New Public Opinion

There is developing in the South a body of public opinion which, although not often strong enough or bold enough to take the initiative against the order long established and entrenched behind inbred and traditional racial attitudes, is able to play a large part in achieving

(*Continued on page* 274)

Mrs. Roosevelt Awards Medal

This is the speech of Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, delivered before the closing meeting of the 30th annual conference of the N.A.A.C.P. in Richmond, Va., Sunday afternoon, July 2, 1939, presenting the 24th Spingarn Medal to the world-famous contralto, Miss Marian Anderson

IT IS a great pleasure to me to be here today, but I think I should say at the start that while I think you have been considering subjects which are of primary importance to you as a group in this nation I feel that I must talk to you as citizens of the United States on things which are not only of interest to you but which are of interest to every citizen in this country.

It is perfectly evident that in the conditions that we see around us in the world the first thing that all of us must be interested in is the preservation of democracy, and that means the ability of every individual to be a really valuable citizen of the democracy. Now, in order to bring that about certain things stand out as necessities. They are not necessities just of the people of one group; they are necessities for all the people of this country. First and foremost, we must have whatever rights of citizenship are ours under the Constitution. Then we must have education for everybody.

Now, I want to say a special word about education. I feel that in this nation education has lagged behind the actual needs of the day and that we need reforms in education. But for certain people it has been impossible to have even the very rudiments of education and that I feel all of us should be interested in making impossible in this nation. Because if you are going to be a valuable citizen in a democracy you must be able to understand the problems that are before a democracy today. Therefore, you must have whatever education you are capable of assimilating. And we know quite well that given no opportunity it is impossible to develop, and therefore we cannot expect anyone who has had limited opportunities to do as well in one generation or two generations as do people who have had for many generations every opportunity. But as we look into the future we must be quite sure that one of the things which all of us are going to work for is the possibility for every individual in this democracy to be a really valuable citizen.

There are dangers everywhere today but the danger of people who cannot understand the problems before their government is a real danger for us, because Congress represents the people. We may say that Congress has done this or that. That is not what has happened, but what has happened is that the people were not capable of understanding the problems and so they did not register their wishes with Congress. It goes back to the people every time in a democracy and therefore it does not matter whether you belong to one race or one group. All races and all groups must see today that we as a whole, as a people, are able to understand the problems before us.

Concern for All People

There is another thing that I think is a problem for all of us, perhaps particularly vital to some of those before me today, but important for all of us; and that is that we face well the problem that people cannot grow up good citizens unless we are concerned about the environment of all our people; not just a group here and there but all our people. We have to have healthy citizens. Physical health affects the mind, affects the spirit. But you cannot have physical health, mental development, spiritual happiness, unless you live in an environment that makes it possible. Now, this may require sacrifice from the nation as a whole. Very well. Then the sacrifice which should be made for improvement in the opportunities for people who are not fit to be citizens is far more serious than any sacrifice we may have to make to give the nation as a whole a decent environment in which to grow into citizenship. Those are the things which you have been discussing. Those are the things which all of us, if we care about America—and we do—must think about. They are the things which mean a future for the nation or decay. They are important to the ideals of this nation.

And I want to say just one word about the young people of this country. They happen to have a difficult period in which to come to maturity. It is true that almost any period has had its difficulties. But this particular one, because it contains many problems for old people, contains the same problems for young people, but intensified for them by the fact that they have as yet had little discipline from life and they are more impatient than we are. There is one quality that we find in young people today. I think they have more faith, more fearlessness, more willingness to look at problems as a whole and not divide them up into little groups; and for that reason I have great hope that in the next few years our young people are going to do a great deal to bring about conditions which we hope will some day exist in this country. They need the help of older people, however. I hope very much that everyone of my generation who is in a position to help young people, no matter what their color or their creed, will help them, because there lies the future, and the way in which they develop will probably be the way that America will go. So on this particular problem we must put a great deal of thought and sympathetic understanding.

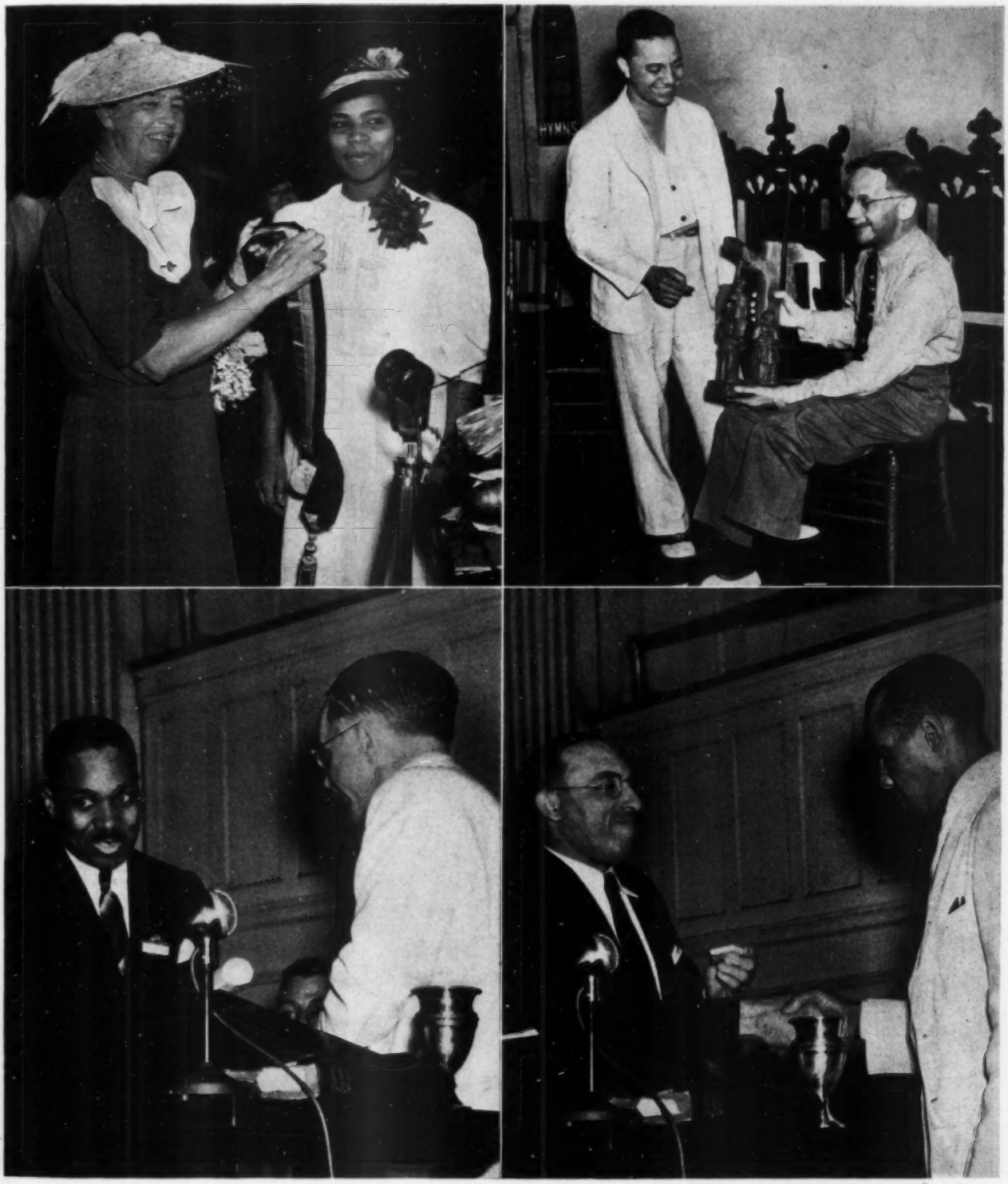
And now, in a few minutes, I am going to come to the real object for my being here today. I was asked to come and speak to you in any case, but then I was asked if I would do one particular thing; and I am very happy to have that opportunity.

Surmounting Difficulties

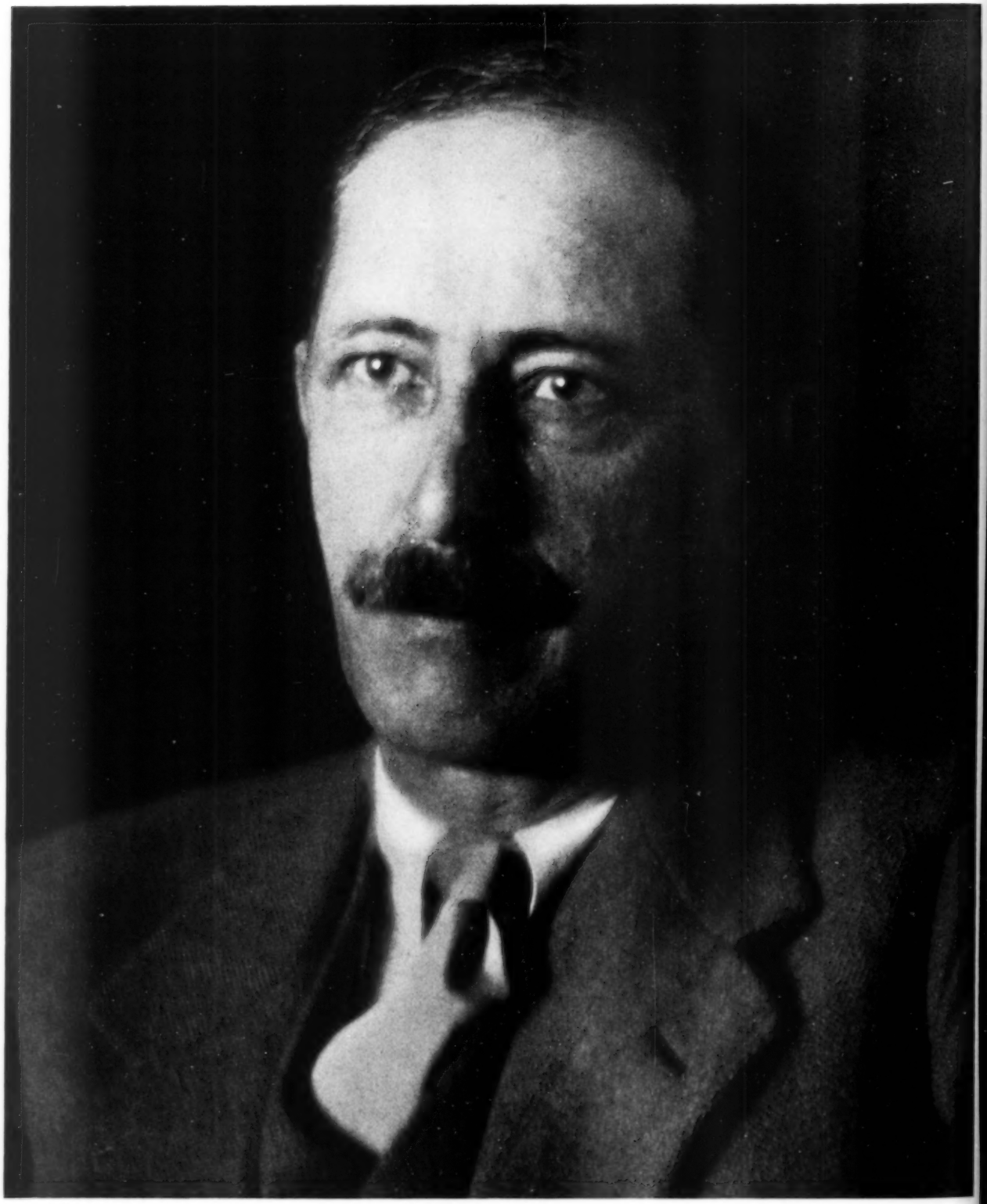
I think I should say a word to you about the Spingarn Medal, though most of you know what it signifies. Perhaps some people who are listening in over the air do not. I am sure that Mr. Spingarn in giving this medal felt that he wanted particularly to emphasize the achievements of people who had rather more difficulties than the average to overcome in what they achieved. I always think that it must be a tremendously gratifying thing to feel that you have won out over very great difficulties. If everything was in your favor, if you did not have to surmount any great mountains, then you have nothing very much to be proud of. But if you feel that you have special difficulties, then you must indeed be proud of your achievement. I think you must have felt during the days of this convention that you as a group have accomplished a great deal in the past few years. I think we have accomplished a great deal as a nation. I think you have done many things that perhaps seemed impossible not so very many years ago. As you sit here this afternoon perhaps some of you are giving thanks for better understand-

(*Continued on page* 285)

At the 30th annual NAACP conference in Richmond, Va., June 27-July 2, *top row, left to right: Arthur F. Raper, research director, Southern Interracial Commission; Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt; Dr. Louis T. Wright, chairman of the N.A.A.C.P. board of directors; bottom: Samuel B. Solomon, Miami, Fla.; Walter White, N.A.A.C.P. secretary; James H. Robinson, acting director of N.A.A.C.P. youth work*



More conference photos, *top, left to right: Mrs. Roosevelt presents the 24th Spingarn medal to Miss Marian Anderson; William Mosely, wood sculptor, presenting his carving "Dixie Holiday" to Walter White. Bottom, Dr. James J. McClendon, president of the Detroit, Mich., branch, receiving a scroll of honor from Walter White for the enrolling of more than 5,500 members constituting the largest branch in the association; Dr. J. M. Tinsley (right) president of the Richmond, Va., branch and the Virginia state conference of branches, receiving the N.A.A.C.P. merit medal from Dr. William Lloyd Imes, member of the national board of directors*



J. E. SPINGARN
May 17, 1875 — July 26, 1939

President Spingarn Dies

J. E. SPINGARN, president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, died at his home here, 110 E. 78 street, July 26 after a long illness.

Mr. Spingarn had been president of the N.A.A.C.P. since 1930. Prior to that time he was chairman of the board 1913-1919; and treasurer of the N.A.A.C.P. 1919-1930.

In 1930 he established the Spingarn medal which has been awarded annually since that time to "the man or woman of African descent and American citizenship who has made the highest achievement during the preceding year or years in any honorable field."

The 24th recipient of the Spingarn medal was Marian Anderson, famous contralto, who received the medal from the hands of Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, at the 30th annual conference of the N.A.A.C.P. in Richmond, Va., on July 2, 1939.

Throughout his long career with the N.A.A.C.P., over a quarter of a century, Mr. Spingarn was an uncompromising fighter for absolute equal justice for the Negro race.

Attracted to N.A.A.C.P. By Sharecropper Case

He became interested in the N.A.A.C.P. years ago through the extradition case of Steve Green, a colored sharecropper who escaped from Arkansas after an argument with the landlord over pay and his crop. Arkansas authorities attempted to extradite Green from Chicago and warned him that a mob would be waiting for him at the Arkansas line.

Mr. Spingarn was outraged when he read of the Steve Green incident and plunged into the work of the association with his whole heart and soul. The Steve Green case was won and the sharecropper did not have to go back to Arkansas. From that day throughout a quarter of a century, Mr. Spingarn saw the association win victory after victory and extend the rights of Negro citizens over greater and greater areas.

He made four transcontinental speaking tours for the association on which he always insisted on paying every penny of his own expenses. He became intimately acquainted with the problems of Negroes in every section of the country and often delighted to tell how some of his audiences in the southern and border states melted away person by person before he finished his uncompromising speeches on equal rights.

Members of the N.A.A.C.P. throughout the nation were stunned July 26 by the death of their president, J. E. Spingarn, donor of the Spingarn Medal and officer and worker in the association for more than a quarter century

The Amenia Conferences

In 1916 Colonel Spingarn invited the leading Negro leaders of the day to his beautiful country estate, "Troutbeck," at Amenia, N. Y., to chart a course of militant and liberal action for the Negro. The second Amenia conference was held sixteen years later in August, 1932, when Mr. Spingarn had as his guests forty outstanding young people from all sections of the country together with officials of the N.A.A.C.P. on a weekend conference whose purpose was to advise on a program for the Negro in the light of the needs of the Negro youth of the day.

It was largely through Mr. Spingarn's efforts that the training camp for Negro officers at Des Moines was established and about 1,000 Negro officers commissioned during the World War.

One of the most memorable speeches of Colonel Spingarn was that delivered at the annual conference of the N.A.A.C.P. in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1919 in which he flayed the treatment of the Negro by white America and called for a militant assault on all fronts to secure full citizenship rights for colored Americans.

Exhorted Young People to Militant Action

His final speech before a large N.A.A.C.P. gathering was in Detroit, Mich., in 1937, when he spoke on the "Youth Night" of the association. In that speech, he reviewed the record of militant action which had been taken by the N.A.A.C.P. in years past, told of the difficulties and prejudices in the early days of the movement, and exhorted the youth councils of the N.A.A.C.P. to take up the battle and fight a good fight.

Mr. Spingarn was a life member of the association, having paid in many years ago the $500 membership fee. He did not, however, regard this as a truly life membership which relieved him of all other contributions and throughout his life he was a steady and substantial contributor to the association's budget. Mrs. Amy Spingarn, his widow, is also a life member of the N.A.A.C.P.

From his earliest days, Colonel Spingarn was a liberal on all public questions. Aside from his deep interest in the Negro, he was talented in many fields of endeavor. He was a distinguished critic and poet; the author of four volumes of criticism and one volume of poems. He was a graduate of Columbia and Harvard universities, receiving his Ph.D. from the latter. He was head of the Department of Comparative Literature at Columbia university, resigning his post in 1911 by request after he had led a spirited revolt involving the issue of academic freedom in behalf of a fellow professor.

Mr. Spingarn was a distinguished author and critic. His first book, "A History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance," appeared in 1899 and has been frequently reprinted. His other published writings include "The New Criticism," "The New Hesperides and Other Poems," "Creative Criticism" and "Poetry and Religion." He edited several other works and contributed to "Civilization in the United States," the Dictionary of American Biography, the Cambridge History of English Literature, Taylor's Garden Dictionary and wrote the American chapter in Ernest Markham's "Clematis." He was recognized as one of the leading, if not the leading authority on clematis in the world and possessed on his estate at Amenia the largest collection of clematis in the world—250 species. The Garden Clubs of America gave him a gold medal, the National Horticultural society awarded him the Jackson Dawson Medal. He was a member of the board of managers of the New York Botanical Garden.

He lectured before many garden clubs in America and his standard fee for such services was a contribution to the N.A.A.C.P. by the garden club which engaged him to lecture.

Tribute to Mr. Spingarn's militant and uncompromising leadership was paid by Walter White, N.A.A.C.P. secretary, as soon as news of his death was made public:

"Mr. Spingarn was a leader ideally suited to the presidency of the N.A.A.C.P.," said Mr. White, "because deep in his heart he believed passionately in equal rights for all citizens irrespective of race, color, or creed and never in all the twenty-one years it was my privilege to work with him did he

deviate from that high principle."

Funeral services were private and were held in Dutchess county on July 27. Mr. Spingarn is survived by his widow; two sons, Stephen J. and Edward D. W.; two daughters, the Misses Hope and Honor; his mother and three brothers, one of whom, Arthur B., is chairman of the N.A.A.C.P. national legal committee and a member of the board of directors.

Passion for Justice

Associates of Mr. Spingarn on the board of directors and the hundreds of workers in the N.A.A.C.P. throughout the country who knew him personally are unanimous in their recollection of his absolute passion for justice.

He attended a great many annual conferences of the N.A.A.C.P. where he not only delivered addresses reiterating the policy of the association and taking uncompromising ground in the fight for justice, but visited and counseled with the delegates from large and small branches in every section of the country.

His conception of the work of the N.A.A.C.P. is embodied in the memorable letter he wrote December 1, 1930, accepting the office of president.

In his work with the N.A.A.C.P. board of directors, one of Colonel Spingarn's outstanding and well-known characteristics was his punctuality at meetings. If he could not be present, he always sent regrets, but if he was to be present, he appeared on the dot of the hour set, whether it was a board meeting or a small committee meeting. For many years, both because of his years as treasurer of the association and of his personal experience, he counseled with the officers and the board on financial matters.

In discussions of policy and procedure in the board, Colonel Spingarn could always be counted upon to take the militant and uncompromising position. Upon matters of minor importance which did not affect the basic principles of the N.A.A.C.P., he was at all times willing to negotiate and compromise for the best possible good; but upon matters of principle, he was adamant, preferring at all times to be right rather than to be safe.

As a member of the editorial advisory board of The Crisis, he gave advice upon editorial strategy, especially upon those utterances affecting the policy of the association.

He derived great satisfaction from the awards of the Spingarn medal and took the greatest pains not even to appear to interfere with or influence the selection of a medalist. This matter was left entirely in the hands of a committee which was, and is, free to make its own award on the basis of the nominations submitted. In his will, Colonel Spingarn left a trust fund of $20,000 to perpetuate the Spingarn medal.

J. E. Spingarn
Amenia
Dutchess County
New York

December 1, 1930.
Troutbeck

To the Board of Directors of the National
Association for the Advancement of Colored People:

I am touched and honored by the unanimous vote by which you have asked me to be president of this Association. It is a real honor to be asked to succeed Moorfield Storey, who as the young secretary of Charles Sumner shines in the pages of "The Education of Henry Adams" and who in his older age represented the nobility of purpose, the dignity and charm, of a day that can never come again. But more even than this, I am honored by your confidence — the confidence of men and women who have been my friends and colleagues for so many years. I have tried to persuade you that there are others who could serve far more worthily than I, but I realize your predicament, and I see no way of evading my clear duty that I serve until you can decide on a more appropriate choice. I therefore accept what you so generously offer, regretting only that I cannot bring the weight of more honors to help in the cause to which this Association is dedicated.

Perhaps few of us realize what an extraordinary Association ours really is. Every shade of opinion, political, economic, social, and religious, is represented on our Board and in our membership. It is one of the few organizations in the world in which men and women who believe in things as they are and those who advocate a complete reconstruction of the social order have been able to work in harmony, and to serve a single cause, side by side. It is my dearest wish that this, which is one of the main sources of our strength, may not be altered, and that hand in hand we may continue to give hope and guidance to the millions who look to us for militant and disinterested help.

J. E. Spingarn

Mr. Spingarn's letter accepting the presidency of the N.A.A.C.P.

Tributes from the Nation

Philadelphia *Evening Public Ledger*

"Colonel Joel Elias Spingarn, who died July 26 in New York, was one of the most stimulating and many-sided men of his time. He was perhaps best known as a friend of the Negro. A Jew, he helped organize the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and was president of the organization at the time of his death.

"He gave a tremendous impetus to Negro enterprise when in 1911 he established the Spingarn Medal, to be awarded annually to 'the man or woman of African descent and American citizenship who has made the highest achievement during the preceding year in any honorable field.'

"He was a brave, uncompromising, lively individual who really believed in liberty for the individual—and who, moreover, did something about it."

New York *Amsterdam News*

"The death July 26 of Joel E. Spingarn removed from among the living one of the few remaining friends of the Negro. He belonged to the same stock that produced Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, Elijah Lovejoy, John Brown and Abraham Lincoln. His memory will live forever even in the hearts of Negroes yet unborn."

New York *Age*

"The death July 26 of Col. Joel E. Spingarn at the age of 64 removes another friend of the Negro whose loss we can ill afford at this time. He was a liberal at a time when conservatism was the style, and a believer in democracy and the rights of the individual and minority groups at a time when such a belief required real courage and sacrifice."

(*Continued on page* 283)

A Letter from Guy B. Johnson

At a commencement address at Virginia State College in June, Dr. Johnson remarked upon the work of the N.A.A.C.P. and The CRISIS made editorial comment upon his speech in the July issue. This letter explains Dr. Johnson's position more in detail

I WANT to thank the editor of THE CRISIS for his comments in the July issue concerning the commencement address which I delivered at Virginia State College on June 5, and I should like to say a few words by way of reply and clarification.

Since the editor of THE CRISIS had not seen a copy of my address at the time he wrote his editorial, and since the stories in the Negro press rather overdid the "attack" angle, I feel that the editor was under some misapprehension as to the exact nature and seriousness of the criticisms which I made in the address. As a matter of fact, I feel that I really have very little to quarrel about with the N.A.A.C.P. and very little disagreement with the sentiments expressed in THE CRISIS editorial. Since I should personally like to see the end of all discriminations based on race, should like to see every man enjoy his full rights under the Constitution, I should be the last in the world to disagree with what the editor has to say about the Elaine, Arkansas cases, the Sweet case, or any other case which brings Negroes closer to the actual enjoyment of their rights under the Constitution.

It was a bit unfair, I believe, for some of the Negro newspapers to brand my address as an "attack" on the N.A.A.C.P., for it was certainly not intended as that. True, I made some criticisms of the N.A.A.C.P. by way of illustration of some of my points, but these criticisms were not the object of the speech. My main object was to say something which might be "inspirational" and which would stimulate some thought on the philosophy and strategy of the Negro as a minority group. The address was brief and contained three simple points:

(1) the need for a realistic definition of the choices confronting the Negro;

(2) the need for a more effective organization; and

(3) the need for a satisfactory personal philosophy of life.

It was in connection with the second of these points that I outlined the requisites of an effective race-wide organization as follows:

> "An organization such as I have in mind should be race-wide, drawing support from all segments of the Negro population. It should be militant but not so militant as to scare off the majority of Negroes who have to earn their bread and butter in the South. It should combine the idealism of the N.A.A.C.P. with the patience and opportunism of the Southern Commission on Interracial Cooperation. It should be realistic in its tactics. It should have more than one bag of tricks, and it should know when to compromise and when not to compromise. It should know how to use persuasion and personal influence as well as ballots and court cases. It should know when to work quietly behind the scenes and when to tell the world in the newspaper headlines. Finally, it should not get too enamored of itself as an organization—it should know when to quit."

I went on to say that I felt the N.A.A.C.P. *at present* does not fill the bill because it lacks the whole-hearted support of Southern Negroes and I attributed this to a lack of realism in the tactics of the organization. I expressed the opinion that there has been too much reliance upon political activity and court decisions as keys to the Negro's advancement. I then discussed the Gaines case.

Now, my object in discussing the Gaines case was not to question the facts of gross discrimination against Negroes in the South in the matter of graduate and professional training, was not to question the importance of doing something to remedy this situation, but to raise a question as to the goal of the N.A.A.C.P. and the strategy involved in this particular case. I think it is important for an organization to know exactly where it wants to go and to be reasonably frank with its followers and the public as to the exact nature of its goals. Unless I am mistaken, the N.A.A.C.P., in its controversy with Dr. Du Bois and on other occasions, has proclaimed its hatred of segregation and its determination to resist the further extension of segregation in any form whatever. Well, the most obvious result of the Gaines case is the extension of segregation into graduate and professional work for Negro students in the South. So I am asking, "Did the N.A.A.C.P. know what it wanted and did it want what it got from the Gaines case?"

Let me make my point clear. There *were* four possible solutions to the problem of graduate and professional work for Negroes in the South:

1. The admission of Negro graduate and professional students to the existing "white" state universities.

2. Subsidies to pay the tuition of Southern Negro students in Northern graduate and professional schools.

3. The cooperation of groups of states for the establishment of three or four regional graduate and professional schools for Negroes in the South.

4. The addition of graduate and professional work to each of the existing state colleges for Negroes in the South.

There are now only two choices, No. 1 and No. 4, and every southern state is choosing No. 4 or resorting to subterfuge. No. 1, which is the "easiest" solution from the standpoint of ideal justice, is actually the most difficult at present. Some of us in the South have predicted that the separate school system might begin to crack in the upper branches under economic pressure and the liberalization of opinion sometime within fifty years, but I am not aware of evidence that it will crack any time soon in any of the real southern states. If the N.A.A.C.P. counted heavily on No. 1, then it has miscalculated; and the results in terms of the quality of educational opportunities for Negroes may be open to criticism. For, if No. 1 is out, then there is much to be said for No. 2 or No. 3 as against No. 4. If, for example, pressure were directed to make the tuition allowances under plan No. 2 equitable and this plan were followed until southern opinion had matured to a more favorable stage, then a show-down might make No. 1 a reality. But put the southern states in a position of choosing between two plans, No. 1 and No. 4, in the year 1939, and their choice of No. 4 is a foregone conclusion. Furthermore, these separate Negro graduate schools are going to be pretty mediocre affairs, and once they are set up they will acquire a vested interest which will make a change of fundamental policy all the more difficult. And, incidentally, it is going to be harder to get courts to define "unequal facilities" than it is to get them to recog-

(Continued on next page)

nize the injustice of "no facilities."

These, then, are some of the thoughts I had in mind in discussing the Gaines case, and I maintain that there is room for intellectual discussion of goals and strategy in terms of this case. I do not claim to know all of the answers. Perhaps a cold-blooded sociologist should not go around making commencement speeches.

Let me mention briefly one or two more points in THE CRISIS editorial. The editor states that "the figures do not support Dr. Johnson's assertion that the 'South has proved that it is willing to pay for separate education.'" Heavens no! One can hardly blame the editor for not appreciating the cynicism of my remark—a side remark which was thrown in to refer to the long-standing policy of maintaining the Negro separate school system at the lowest possible cost.

Further, the editor misses my point somewhat in his discussion of suffrage. He asks, ". . . why is every attempt to vote fought equally as bitterly by Klan hoodlums as by upper class white southerners? If it would not aid the Negro to have the vote, why is it withheld from him?" Exactly! It is withheld from him because it *is* important. What I want to know is, How do Negroes get to exercise the franchise? Is it automatically conferred on them by a Supreme Court decision? No, that is less than half of the story. It is all tied up with local customs and attitudes of both Whites and Negroes. My point is: study the various factors—economic condition, leadership, solidarity, etc.—in the situations where political activity is strong, learn what it is that really makes for participation by Negroes and then bit by bit spread the technique of getting participation in politics. Certainly political power would advance the Negro's cause *if* he had it. But considerable progress—in organization, in sticking together, in organizing with local officials—must be made before he can even get enough power to help himself. That is what I meant when I said that political power is likely to be a result rather than a cause of progress.

The N.A.A.C.P. is a great organization and I believe it can be still greater if—without sacrificing ultimate values—it shapes its ideology and tactics so that many more southern Negroes are willing to support it. Incidentally, a few days after I gave the address at Virginia State College, I visited Mr. White at the national office and was pleasantly surprised to find evidence of exactly this sort of trend. For example, the national office is preparing a series of simple factual educational pamphlets for mass distribution. Furthermore, the directors plan to hold the annual meeting in the South more often, perhaps every other year. This is an excellent idea. I dropped in on the Richmond meeting later and was struck by the good attendance and the enthusiasm of the group.

By the way, let me say that I do not own the title of "dean of the graduate school of the University of North Carolina," which Mr. Wilkins gave me. That belongs to a man of more dignity and years than I possess. I do teach sociology and anthropology at the University of North Carolina and am on the staff of the Institute for Research in Social Science there. Incidentally, I have for the past twelve years taught a course at Chapel Hill entitled "The Negro," and in my more optimistic moments I like to think that it has some practical value in contributing to that change in attitudes which must come before any real progress can be made in the South.

EDITOR'S NOTE

THE CRISIS is glad to have this letter from Dr. Johnson. It was natural for the weekly press to seize upon "an attack" upon the N.A.A.C.P. This particular phase of Dr. Johnson's speech, although a minor one, was the one item which made a headline and relieved editorial boredom over the usual commencement address.

There is no great difference of opinion between Dr. Johnson's views and those of the N.A.A.C.P. and THE CRISIS. Indeed, upon such a complex problem as the adjustment between two races in America, there is plenty of room for intellectual discussion of goals and strategy in terms of the Gaines case.

Perhaps it ought to be said once more that the N.A.A.C.P. long ago realized that it could not become the one, all-inclusive, all-wise organization among Negro Americans. The job is too big, the country is too big, and colored people, like the Jews and other groups, are by no means united on one program or strategy.

The N.A.A.C.P. has had to confine itself to campaigning for citizenship rights and privileges—for full status for Negro Americans. It has based its work squarely upon the laws and the U. S. Constitution. It has attacked ofttimes successfully—and sometimes not so successfully—as many of the obstacles to the attainment of full citizenship rights as its resources would permit.

In its work, violence had to be done to many established customs and traditions—even to some laws which, although backed heavily by the local communities mentioned by Dr. Johnson, were, nevertheless, unconstitutional.

Suppose, for example, the notorious "Grandfather Clause" method of disfranchisment had not been challenged by the N.A.A.C.P. in 1915.

True, the 1915 case did not enfranchise all southern Negroes. Other court victories have not succeeded in enfranchising all of them. But each new case has defined Negro rights more clearly. The day will come when Negroes will vote freely in every southern state. Very possibly it will come through the process mentioned above by Dr. Johnson—but only because the earlier militant fights set the stage and made clear the pattern which must be followed, regardless of the method used to achieve it.

Here, then, is the function of the N.A.A.C.P.: the alignment of rights of the Negro—in actuality—with the rights of citizens as set forth in the Constitution. The negotiations, the study of local social and economic factors may or may not be done by the N.A.A.C.P. but such action must of necessity proceed within the limits won by N.A.A.C.P. shock attacks on the status quo.

And that is our position precisely in the Gaines case. The supreme court opinion, of course, will not put Negroes in every "white" graduate school in the South. It may result in the establishment of inferior separate graduate schools. It may, indeed, as Dr. Johnson suggests, result in strengthening the system of dual education which is notoriously unfair to the Negro all down the line. It is not altogether impossible that it may change some sections of the South, even in our time. But a principle has been established for the guidance and encouragement, not only of Negroes, but of the righteous minority of whites who want to do something about the whole iniquitous system.

With this function as its *raison d'etre*, it is obvious that the N.A.A.C.P. cannot permit its *fighting* campaigns to be shaped by local traditions and customs. Every community shrieks that it can handle its own problems—and so it can since the whites are armed with economic might, social intimidation, and local "interpretations" of the law of the land, while Negroes can marshal only moral suasion.

Dr. Johnson is one of those who saw the Gaines case coming. He knew of the blunt denial of graduate and professional training to Negroes. He spoke out to his fellow southern educators. But they did not heed. If he could not make them listen, could we of the N.A.A.C.P. have negotiated with them successfully?

Besides, it was not our function to consult on ways and means of securing this training for Negroes; our duty was to define their legal right to such training—a legal right which, though patent, was being ignored upon all sides. Moreover, the education of public opinion in these legal contests is an item of no inconsiderable value.

One more word concerning Dr. Johnson's point that the N.A.A.C.P. is not accepted by southern Negroes. The statistical fact is that the association has branches in seventeen southern and border states, with only Mississippi a very "weak sister" in N.A.A.C.P. work. The membership, of course, does not represent a majority of the population of the section, but neither does the membership anywhere represent the majority.

It is more accurate, perhaps, to say that the whites of the South are unwilling to support the N.A.A.C.P. program and that their system of control over their Negro neighbors is such that many of the latter feel impelled *to appear* not to accept our program.

The point not to be overlooked is that deep down in every Negro's heart is the desire to be treated—in all respects—as are other men. This thought may have variations and overtones due to a myriad of factors, but it is there at all times.

The Negro in South Carolina who tells the white folks he does not want to vote has perhaps a dozen practical reasons for this mis-statement, but his secret heart is delighted at N.A.A.C.P. action to break down disfranchisement. The Negro who lives across the railroad tracks and who declares vehemently that he "doesn't want to live with white folks" is a diplomat worthy of greater opportunity, but he is thrilled at a militant organized fight for better housing, against residential restrictions, and for a more equitable spread of the tax funds to secure the municipal services to which he knows he is entitled.

Therefore, the moral support for the N.A.A.C.P. program is hundreds of times greater than the actual numerical membership.

We hope the readers of THE CRISIS will show their appreciation of Dr. Johnson's frank and friendly discussion by sending their own comments for publication—limited to 500 words. —R.W.

Editorials

Editor, ROY WILKINS
Advisory Board: Dr. Louis T. Wright, Lewis Gannett, Walter White

J. E. Spingarn—Man of Courage

IT is no secret that the cause of the Negro, American prejudice being what it is, is the most unpopular crusade in our country. Hundreds of thousands of good people who storm with indignation against practically any form of reaction or denial of democracy, hesitate, stutter, and become silent when the treatment of the Negro is mentioned. Doors are closed on every side and precious few there are among white Americans who have the moral courage to speak out for an ideal.

That is why J. E. Spingarn, who died July 26, deserves to have his name honored and revered as long as there are Americans of color and their friends who believe truly in the democratic way of life. Colonel Spingarn had the courage to face hostile and sneering public opinion and fight in an unpopular cause. He was no stuffed shirt liberal on the Negro. He did not accept office for honor. He did not work with Negroes because he had a special axe to grind and wished their aid in return for his championing of their cause. He fought for them because he was devoted passionately to the ideal of democracy, to justice and fair play for all men. He carried this passion into his other activities, proving that it was a part of the man, not a pose with an underprivileged group.

And he worked. He was not content with issuing statements and signing letters. Month after month, year in and year out he stayed close to the hearts of his people, advising on their problems, fighting their battles shoulder to shoulder with them.

There is the Spingarn Medal. What a chance for a pretender to strut and pose, to speak and make presentations, to act as "the Great White Father" to Negroes! But Colonel Spingarn would have none of this cheapness. His medal was to stimulate achievement in Negroes and to educate white America. It was a part of his belief, of the great cause of his life, and so he remained always in the background.

We shall not see his like again soon. He brought to the presidency of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and to the other offices he held in the association an uncompromising philosophy, a keen and scholarly intellect, and a warm, personal, lively interest in every detail of the struggle for the new emancipation of both Negroes and whites.

He lived to see great strides made in the adjustment between the races. He saw whites, so bitter at first, become reasonable and just. He saw Negroes, bitter, also, and disallusioned take on new hope, new fighting strength and win battle after battle. Side by side with the Spingarn Medal as a monument to his memory will be that courage and hope which he epitomized and planted in the breasts of millions of American Negroes. A man of courage is a beacon in any age, any country, any race, and an inspiration to all mankind.

College Graduates Branching Out

THE annual education issue of The Crisis which appears each August continues to be an inspiration to our readers if our fan mail is any criterion. One veteran reader of The Crisis was greatly moved by the fresh young faces of the graduates and their record of achievement. We are glad because this special issue, although the most expensive published during the year, is also an inspiration to the editor, who has seen many a commencement season come and go.

This year we were struck by some of the subjects our young men and women have mastered. Here is one with a degree in aeronautical engineering from famed Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Several more received master's degrees in business administration. Another received a degree in marketing from Ohio State university.

There was a time when all sought to become teachers—and good teachers are still needed. There was a time when many wanted to become physicians, dentists and lawyers—and these professions, despite the concentration of professional men in certain cities, are *not* overcrowded. But new fields are opening up all the time. Old opportunities which have always been there need to be seized. Millions of our people live in agricultural communities. We need expert agriculturists. We must indeed have trained business men if we are to run successful businesses. The world of tomorrow will be a flying world. We need our aeronautical engineers.

Let no one discourage our youth by telling them of the uncertainties ahead. There may not be a million dollars waiting for every young hopeful, but the world can always use trained men and women in every line of endeavor.

Lily White Unions Steal Negro Jobs

THE people who preach about labor unity to Negroes will find the reason for much of the skepticism with which they are greeted if they will consider the situation in Tampa, Fla. In that city the Tampa Shipbuilding and Engineering Corporation employed about 1,200 men, of whom about 600 were Negroes. When the corporation secured a government contract for building ships, two A. F. of L. unions secured a closed shop agreement and promptly booted the Negroes out of about 500 of their 600 jobs. Of the 118 colored men now on the job, 116 are doing menial and unskilled work. One Negro hoisting engineer with 20 years of experience is picking up paper in the yard because the union, which has taken his dues, refuses to certify him for anything except picking paper. Scores of other Negroes are paid up union members, but cannot get work.

Now, the employer has had many years of experience with Negroes and wants to employ them. But the union says he cannot. Here is a case where a demonstration of a little labor unity on the part of whites would help erase some of the justifiable reluctance of the Negro to join wholeheartedly in the labor movement.

Loss to Democracy

THE resignation of Dr. Broadus Mitchell from the faculty of Johns Hopkins university is a loss to democracy at a time when the democratic way of life is struggling for life. Dr. Mitchell had rare opportunity in a great institution (little only in its narrow outlook on the Negro) to instill independence of thinking and traditions of liberalism in the younger generation. He fulfilled his task magnificently. He took time from his faculty work to participate in activity for the Negro. He wrote an unanswerable plea in the alumni magazine of his alma mater for the admission of Negroes to the graduate school of Johns Hopkins. Johns Hopkins is poorer for his resignation. THE CRISIS wishes him success in any endeavor he may undertake and prays for him a long and rich life.

Look at the NAACP

(Continued from page 264)

public acceptance of changes ordained by the courts or other public authority. The liberal press is urging the fairness of equalizing the salaries of white and colored teachers. College students are debating the question of admitting colored applicants to state universities. Such are the external evidences of the leaven that is working in the white south.

Thus, it is reasonable to anticipate that there will be an increasing number of cases in which state legislatures and educators will attempt in good faith to remove particular educational inequalities. In the majority of cases, however, Negroes will continue to be confronted with the attitude of the head of a southern state university who admitted that the law was clearly against him yet stated flatly that every application of a colored student for admission to his institution would have to be carried to the court of last resort before he would admit the applicant.

Against such resistance there will be arrayed the aggressiveness and militancy of more Negroes throughout the South than those who still hear the guns of Shiloh and see the spectre of the Reconstruction care to think about. It is symptomatic of a change rapidly taking place in the Negro community that while the state association of Negro teachers in North Carolina would not appropriate one penny out of its well-filled treasury to fight in the courts for equal salaries in 1933, five years later the colored teachers of Virginia not only appropriated money from their treasury for that purpose but also imposed a tax upon themselves to raise additional funds.

Another factor should serve to cause state school officials to hesitate before ignoring or defying plain requirements of law. A Federal statute makes the denial of rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States a criminal offense, punishable by fine and imprisonment. Prosecutions under that law are possible. A very small number of convictions and sentences would have substantial effect upon every public officer who should thereafter be called upon to grant the claim of a Negro to an educational privilege protected by the Constitution.

Again, the cost of opposing actions for educational equality is high, particularly since the losing party may be required to pay his opponent's court costs in addition to all of his own expenses. Undoubtedly it has cost the state of Missouri more to delay the entry of Lloyd Gaines into the University of Missouri for three years than it would have cost to give him the three years of legal training which he is seeking.

Some Gains Registered

The South is poor. Its educational facilities generally are woefully inadequate, not because of failure to spend a reasonable percentage of the public revenue upon public schools but because the total public income is so small. This situation is not improving. Hence, not only prejudice but poverty as well will continue to impede large scale improvements in education for Negroes. Yet, individual counties have found a way to equalize teachers' salaries. States which were unable to provide out-of-state scholarships for Negroes before the decision in the Gaines case now find that they can make substantial appropriations for that purpose if such action will make compliance with the decision of the Supreme Court unnecessary. Moreover, with substantial Federal subsidies in prospect and with intelligent political action in progress to require the equitable distribution of such grants-in-aid, ability to equalize will increase during the next decade. But in the long run the south is bound to realize that it cannot afford the luxury of separate schools. The dual system is bound to break down. Its collapse will begin at the top, in the universities and graduate schools.

I have said nothing about the efforts of the Association to combat segregation and discrimination in public places and in access to miscellaneous public advantages, or its great struggle against lynching. During the past twenty or thirty years people in and out of the Association have come to regard such efforts as "NAACP work." By public agitation, political pressure and the advocacy of remedial legislation many new impositions have been blocked and some embrasures have been made in walls long standing. Power to discriminate against the Negro and to subject him to mob violence will continue to be vested in white America for an indefinite period. That power will be exercised so long as there is a strong community will to do so. Such ill will is bound to exist so long as the prevailing attitude toward the Negro is an amalgam of aversion with a belief that the Negro is innately inferior in ability and character. As one writer states the case:

"Sentiments and attitudes that prevail in any cultural area arise from the manner of life and the institutional organization. * * * They tend to persist long after the period of their utility * * * A peculiar body of racial doctrine * * * so firmly rooted as to be an integral part of the folk life * * * arose and developed during slavery and continues as a part of the culture heritage. It has come to have a relatively independent existence—a life of its own."

Uniting the Disadvantaged

Thus, while we continue our efforts to arrest the manifestations of race prejudice in our communities, we must always strive toward the elimination of its causes. More and more people are becoming convinced that the most effective technic for dealing with prejudice is a diverting of minds to more important matters. Historically, we know that race prejudice has been a device serving to divert the attention of the South from its suffering and their causes. Conversely, there is every reason to believe that the concentration of millions who suffer common disadvantages upon methods of bettering conditions under which all suffer will be the most effective way of subordinating race prejudice and ultimately causing men to realize how unimportant race really is. Labor exploitation, political misrepresentation, neglect of all types of responsibility of organized society for social services to its disadvantaged members,—these are some of the evils which white and black may feel separately but not as unequally as we sometimes think.

Every time a branch of the NAACP can combine a demand of disadvantaged Negroes with a demand of disadvantaged whites, whether at the polls, or through labor organization, or through protest and demonstration, or through any other technic of joint action, that branch will have done something immediately useful and also significant in its implications for a future that will be significantly better than the present.

It should not be long before branches of the NAACP are reporting and emphasizing such achievements at their annual conferences. Indeed, while the defensive strategy of the Association nationally and locally, must still be directed largely at racial disadvantages, offensive strategy, the sustained and sustaining program of the organization, must increasingly emphasize and embody the recognition of common interests across the color line and the making of common cause by all working people. If to many branches this means reorientation as well as expansion of program, then such reorientation and such expansion should not be delayed.

First Rate for First Readers

TOBE

The Illustrated Story of a little colored boy in North Carolina.

$1.00 from The Crisis Book Shop

From the Press of the Nation

Editorial of the Month

Let the School Board Reconsider

The Norfolk *Virginian-Pilot*, Norfolk, Va.

(Editor's note: For twelve years until June, 1939, Miss Aline E. Black taught chemistry in the Booker T. Washington high school in Norfolk, Va. During the school year 1938–39, she consented to become the plaintiff in a court action to secure equality of pay with white teachers in the Norfolk school system holding her same rating and doing the same work. For this action, the school board refused to renew her contract for 1939–40. The following editorial from the leading daily paper in Norfolk is so fair in its statement on the case and in its support of the right of petition and assembly that THE CRISIS *believes it deserves easily to be designated as the editorial of the month).*

If the Norfolk School Board will take counsel of its contemplative self and of its special responsibility for good interracial relations in this community, it will, we think, see the wisdom of repairing the injury done these relations by the withholding of a re-employment contract from the Booker T. Washington High School teacher who figures in the celebrated parity-pay test case now pending in the courts.

Knowing the members of the School Board as public-spirited individuals who are above the temptation of petty reprisal, the *Virginian-Pilot* does not believe that they would have, of their own accord, sought to punish any teacher in the Norfolk schools, white or colored, for seeking a peaceable, judicial determination of a disputed legal right. It appears that they were misled into this utterly lamentable act by advice or pressure from State school authorities in Richmond who seem to have been attracted by the idea of Norfolk's running interference for them in a pay-parity controversy that is assuming State and even South-wide proportions.

The unhappy result of this use of Norfolk as a State catspaw is evident from Sunday's protest meeting at St. John's A.M.E. Church. Never in the city's modern history have Norfolk Negroes staged so formidable a demonstration against what they regard as an unjust act by the white authorities. This kind of thing does untold damage to the city's interracial relations. It is a serious setback for years of fruitful labors in interracial adjustment, some of the most important of these labors having been performed by the School Board itself. Worse, from the school viewpoint, it tends to embitter the spirit of the whole colored teaching personnel.

Sunday's colored mass meeting, while employing a few sharp and resentful words in criticizing the treatment accorded the Booker T. Washington teacher, avoided provocative or abusive polemics. Its restraint made it all the more significant as a sincere and moving exercise of the constitutional right of free assembly and petition.

The *Virginian-Pilot* hopes that the School Board will put an end to a group resentment that can do the city no good but which can do it a great deal of harm, by retiring from the business of pulling the State Education Board's chestnuts out of the fire, and returning to the business of dealing justly and magnanimously with a strictly local involvement. It is simply not square dealing to destroy a teacher's professional career in the local schools because she has permitted herself to become the instrument of a test case in a judicial issue that has assumed for the colored people the character of an appeal for elementary human justice. One may dispute the legality of the cause, but one may not decently assume the position that those who ask the courts to decide the question, forfeit their rights to reappointment to public jobs in which their work has been above criticism.

The School Board, as the trustees of our public educational system, is under a special obligation to defend the historic, American right of peaceable petition. In essence, the pay-parity appeal to the courts is just that. It can best defend that right by avoiding all color of reprisal for the exercise of it. It can do that best, by reinstating the Booker T. Washington teacher in the job she has held for the past twelve years. That is what we hope the School Board will do. The whole city would respect it for a retreat which would really be an advance. Nobody ever retreats when doing the right thing.

. . . Some observers have commented on the fact that lynchings are fewer each year—"only seven during 1938."

On seven occasions lynch-mobs have openly defied the orderly adminstration of justice, taking the law into their own hands! Seven times during 1938 mob rule held sway! There were no arrests, no convictions, not a single genuine prosecution! In every case the local authority failed to check the mob, and prevent the murder. In every case the offenders were unpunished!

So long as there is a single lynching-with-impunity anywhere in America, there is need of a federal law to punish the local peace officers who are negligent and to penalize the community that tolerates unpunished lynchings. . . . —*Interracial Review*, New York, N. Y.

While we've known it all along, the recent activities of lynch-mad Southerners make it all the more apparent that only enforcement by the Federal government of an anti-lynching bill will stop these mob murders of Negroes from becoming a popular past time.

During the famous Senate filibuster last year against the anti-lynching bill which had passed the House of Representatives, Southern Senators declared their opposition to the bill was caused by the fact that they felt that local communities were capable of dealing with the problem and that they thought it unnecessary for the Federal government to step into purely local matters.

And so the bill died an inglorious death at the hands of Southern Senators. And many Negroes since then have also died at the hands of Southern lynchers who, emboldened by the knowledge that they would not be punished by local authorities, have used the rope and fagot and gun against innocent Negroes. And many more Negroes will be the victims of this lust for blood until Congress makes up its mind to get down to business and takes a hand by passing the pending anti-lynching bill now before it. . . .—New York, *N. Y. Age.*

One of the greatest handicaps encountered by Negroes is the belief of many that they are entitled to sympathy. It has become inherent for Negroes to approach problems and difficulties with a feeling of inferiority and with an idea that sympathy may sway some bit of favor their way. As long as this continues, Negroes will continue to be weak, and making no use of spine and backbone, will become spineless and without backbone. Negroes as a whole have shown themselves capable of becoming educated, intellectual, cultured, skilled and efficient. There is no need for sympathy under any ordinary conditions. . . . Minneapolis, Minn., *Spokesman.*

Washington Fights

By John Lovell, Jr.

WASHINGTON is a giant awakened. For years, people have known of her strength—financial, social, scholarly. Washington is the town where thousands of Negroes enjoy good salaries, and are sure to be paid. It has no industrial life, but that doesn't matter much. Money circulates; men and women buy fine cars and good houses in large numbers. Washington clubs and societies are the snootiest in the nation among Negroes. Her lawyers and doctors are acknowledged leaders. At Howard, you will find over one-half of the living Negro Ph.D's. Around the town, you will bump into Negroes whose ancestors had forgot what slavery meant long before 1865.

When DuBois wrote his *Quest of the Silver Fleece,* he selected Washington society as representative of the best Negroes had. He was not far wrong. The Negroes who "were somebody" may have been comparatively few but they were noisy and colorful. They had 11-room and 13-room houses. They had maids and chauffeurs, and they still have. They did not vote, but they supplied the country with the wiliest and smoothest politicians. They spawned first-rate tradesmen and business men, even architects and theatrical impresarios.

With all this surface power, you would suppose that Washington Negroes were fully able to take care of themselves. But the great majority of these who were whitewashing the slave-besmirched Negro by imitating the raucous American bourgeoisie never thought about fighting for their rights. They had the equipment with which to fight. And here and there, an individual would shake off an insult in a way the insulter never forgot. But fighting was the wrong thing for their technique of growth. They wanted to be "accepted," and that was no way to get "accepted." White people had to be asked for things. You couldn't ask favors of a man if you were always bristling up to him or shaking a fist in his face.

Washington Negroes, in spite of their phenomenal culture, would have moved very slowly but for the so-called rowdy element. Let any one who wishes to deny this read the records of the 1919 riot before he enlists on the negative side. The highfalutin' Negroes would have taken 50 years to get the self-respect the boys from the bucket-of-blood got in a few days. The boys had always questioned the method of soft blandishment. They still do. When the riot burst the capital city open, and the bigwigs started holding conferences to determine how best to ameliorate and pacify, "the boys" merely went to work and set a machine gun or two on top of the Howard theatre.

Colored people in the capitol of the nation are up in arms, determined that some of this democracy everyone is talking about shall be enjoyed by them and theirs

A few years later, a really militant Howard professor moved into a "restricted" area. He was told to get out and get out fast. When he failed to comprehend the warning, his new home was given a battering. Others reported the matter to the police; the professor merely took the pains to build a barricado that even the Japanese would respect. Some of his friends at the university recommended to him some interesting court procedures. One of them got his guns together and installed himself in the barricado. The two, fortified further by sandwiches and milk, quietly sat, watched and waited. "The boys" heard about it and were powerfully elated at this vindication of their technique. They sent word that their scouts were keeping an eye on the place, and that when help was needed, help would come. Evidently they got a similar message over to the enemy, for absolutely nothing happened after that. The professor, using a rowdy principle, had opened up a new and decent area for Negro habitation. Thousands of fine Negroes live there now.

Verge of a New Riot

After the riot, a new lethargy descended upon the town. Negroes gained 50% in self-respect, as they had done in riot-educated in Houston, Tulsa and Chicago. The upperclass Negroes were thankful for the enhanced position—the better seats down front—but they did not change their method. They went on conciliating white folks and hoping for the day of interracial understanding. When a thing became intolerable, they would send a spokesman down, and he would come back with five barley loaves of promises and two small fishes of good cheer. The rowdy Negroes were once more glowing in disgust. Washington policemen began a target practice in the Negro districts. In "self-defense" or in "the line of duty," they shot a Negro every two months. Many of the Negroes were shot in the back. When within a few short days a Negro youth had his spine splintered by an officer "defending" himself and a demented Negro war veteran was struck with bullets like a savage beast, little as Washington knew it, she was on the verge of another 1919.

A new element, though, had risen up in the Washington community. They came from the high and the low. They boasted of barbers, day laborers, Howard and Terrell professors, preachers, and even the middleclass business men and lawyers. Their job was to find a technique in which both elite and rowdy could participate. They decided that they would begin on a middle course, but they did not rule out the machine gun high over 7th and T streets if all else failed.

A host of organizations had come together to form the Washington Council of the National Negro Congress. With encouragement from John P. Davis, national executive secretary of the Congress, they grew and waxed. They brought in fraternities, medical societies, and guilds of government workers. On June 25, 1938, the date of a killing, they opened fire on police brutality in the District of Columbia. They kept pouring their fire upon city officials, civic leaders, and Congressmen. They brought every civic pressure to bear, not softly nor wildly, but with an unswerving militancy and a remarkable use of intelligent planning. They did not use actual machine guns, but their aim was just as deadly, and their power just as penetrating. Police killing stopped! In a mass meeting on June 25, 1939, they celebrated one year of blustering city life in which no policeman found it necessary to defend himself by cutting down harmless citizens.

Year of Picketing

On the same June 25, 1938, an organization, founded in 1933, called the New Negro Alliance, threw a picket line around two Peoples Drug Stores.

Peoples Drug Stores are one of Washington's largest corporations and operates 44 stores of predominantly Negro trade. The Alliance was not exactly a fledgling David meeting a stubby-bearded Goliath. They had brought another of Washington's first-line corporations, The Sanitary Grocery Company, to its knees, by means of a decision from the United States Supreme Court, and by a great corralling of public support. The Alliance's Administrator, Eugene Davidson, has a list of dozens of jobs which white business men in Negro areas have turned over to Negroes in the past five years, as a result of Alliance pressure. Peoples have not yet surrendered, though many similar warriors have as a result of the Peoples fight. But that is not so important as the fact that here in Washington, lethargy has been killed to the extent that a picket line has been maintained 15 hours a day since June 25, 1938, without a moment's interruption. Washington Negroes are finally proving to themselves that they can *last*.

In January of this year, and again in February, March, and April, Marian Anderson was insulted by the local D. A. R. and the Washington School Board. Such an insult had been visited upon Roland Hayes 13 years ago—denial of the same Constitution Hall which was denied Miss Anderson—and Washington Negroes had responded with some spirit. But the spirit they showed this year was beyond the recollection of the oldest old-timer. They flooded the newspapers with letters, bitterly and skilfully written. They got their friends from outside to shower Congressmen with petitions. They hung from the rafters when the Board of Education met to try to find some way to grant the Central (white) High Auditorium without losing face completely. Hundreds of Washington school teachers signed the petition to the Board, asking that they reverse themselves, in the face of the known pettiness and vindictiveness of Frank W. Ballou, the Superintendent of Schools.

They demanded a picket line against the D. A. R. national Convention, and shouted for the opportunity of being the first to ride in the Black Marias, if Black Marias were going to materialize. Sixty-five Negro organizations, of every description and social status, joined thirty-two white and mixed ones in one of the most brilliant displays of mass action this nation has seen. The national press put the credit for the furore upon Mrs. Roosevelt and Secretary Ickes; but it was the Marian Anderson Citizens Committee which first notified Mrs. Roosevelt and which got her first response. It was the same Committee which asked for an expression from Secretary Ickes nearly two months before he granted Lincoln Memorial. The 600 newspaper clippings from Singapore to London would never have been possible if the Marian Anderson Citizens Committee had not set off the explosion. Had not Negroes accepted the Constitution Hall business silently for years?

The 75,000 who heard Miss Anderson on Easter Sunday were a tribute to fighting Negroes in the District of Columbia as much as to democracy and the preservation of art. Believe it or not, the Marion Anderson Citizens Committee is far from dead. They are determined that their School Board shall interpret the dual school laws so as to grant the community use of school buildings to all, regardless of race, during non-school hours and on non-school days. To this end, they are gathering ammunition for hearings this fall. Moreover, it will be the proverbial hunderd moons before the D. A. R. hears the last reverberation of the Marian Anderson case.

New N A A C P Branch

And the fighting on all fronts is going to go on! In the midst of the Marian Anderson struggle, the Norms presiding over social justice for the Negro tossed into the lap of Washington a new baby NAACP Branch to replace the branch which died three years ago. It is now a strapping youngster with nearly 2500 members. Its new membership chairman, Wendell Erwin, a fiery young business man, says that the District of Columbia Branch is marching to Philadelphia next June at the head of NAACP, where it formerly was, and where it belongs. Its president, C. Herbert Marshall, Jr., is a perpetual whirlwind. It is making plans to fight not only current difficulties of Negroes in Washington but also the deep-seated accumulations in prejudice and discrimination of the last 50 years.

Some shrewd commentators on Negro life have said that the Negro will not gain salvation by making his fight along racial lines. He must recognize, they say, the economic virus at the core of it all. Let this writer be recorded as agreeing with them. Let him also be recorded as finding a real hope in the picture of bourgeois aspirants and regular workers in Washington joining hands, and then making fists at their enemies. Let him testify that many of these very fights have sponsored makeshift seminars on the economic structure of American society. Let him take pride in the fact that Washington Negroes have been sensible enough, in every one of these fights, to get the support of white and Jewish working and worker-minded people. Let him express, above all, the view that the man who has determined to fight, without ever stopping, for his social and political rights is a good beginning for the new world we all look forward to. And let him be thankful that in the past year, Washington Negroes by the thousands have learned that much.

Wins $2,000 Scholarship

Miss Gertrude Albert of Fair Haven, New Jersey, was graduated in June as the honor student in her class at Rumson, N. J., high school, and with this honor won a scholarship of $2,000 awarded by President Bertram Borden of the board of education in Rumson. Miss Albert is the first colored student ever to win this rich scholarship for college.

In the presentation address, Mr. Borden said that this young woman had gained honors, not only for scholastic attainment, but for character, for loyalty and her lively cooperation in all the activities of the school.

For two years Miss Albert was president of the Girls' Athletic Association, and she also served in the literary department of the Year Book staff. She excelled in her study of Latin, French, mathematics, music and is a pianist of pronounced ability.

In September Miss Albert will enter college in New York City, to make ready for her chosen profession—that of teaching. Miss Albert is 18 years old.

Gets Summer Degree

Miss Grace Vera Postles was awarded the master's degree in the teaching of English at the summer convocation at Temple university August 21.

Additional Graduates

Statistics from three colleges which arrived too late for inclusion in the regular August education number bring the total number of Negro college graduates for 1939 to 3,677 instead of 3,467 as announced in August. The additions include 184 graduates with the bachelor degree from Tennessee A. and I. State College, Nashville; and 14 bachelors from Western Reserve University at Cleveland.

The new total also includes three masters from Loyola and seven from Western Reserve.

It includes, also, one M.D. from Western Reserve and one M.D. from Loyola.

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

30th Annual Conference in Richmond, Va.

IN many respects the 30th annual conference of the N.A.A.C.P. held in Richmond, Va., June 27—July 2, inclusive, was the most satisfactory ever held by the association.

The highlight of the meeting, of course, was the speech of Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt Sunday afternoon, July 2, and her presentation of the 24th Spingarn Medal to Miss Marian Anderson. This meeting held in The Mosque, Richmond's largest auditorium (capacity 5,000) climaxed a week of discussion in which the major problems facing colored people were threshed out by delegates and speakers.

The conference opened Tuesday evening, June 27, with welcome addresses by Dr. J. M. Tinsley, president of the Richmond branch, and Dr. Gordon B. Hancock speaking for Mayor J. Fulmer Bright, who was out of the city.

Nathan Straus, administrator of the U. S. Housing Authority, explained the work of the Authority to the delegates and told of the inclusion of Negroes in the government's housing program. Judge William H. Hastie delivered the keynote address reviewing the work of the N.A.A.C.P. for the past ten years and forecasting future activity. Samuel B. Solomon, of Miami, Fla., who led the successful defiance of the Ku Klux Klan there on the occasion of the primary election May 2 received an ovation as he told of the determination of citizens in his community to do something to improve living conditions for the group.

During the day sessions June 28, the whole general topic of economic security was discussed with S. H. Dykstra of the U. S. Department of Labor, and Dr. Charles S. Johnson, of Fisk University, as the principal speakers in the morning. In the afternoon, a panel discussion of economic security was continued with Edward S. Lewis, executive secretary of the Baltimore Urban League, presiding. Miss Marjorie McKinzie; James G. Tyson, Joseph C. Waddy, Charles H. Houston, Eugene Davidson and James Jackson participated. The evening session continued the economic security discussion with a panel presided over by Roy Wilkins and participated in by Elmer A. Carter. Mrs. Wenonah Bond Logan, T. W. Winchester, of the Brotherhood of Red Caps, David Clendenin, of the Workers' Defense League, and C. W. Rice, of Houston, Tex.

Mrs. J. B. Morris, of Des Moines, Iowa, presided at the morning session June 29 where Dr. John B. West, of New York, discussed public health problems and Harold Lett, of Newark, N. J., talked on housing.

The afternoon session was given over to a discussion of problems in education with Doxey Wilkerson presiding and Mrs. Enolia McMillan, Thurgood Marshall, Lester B. Granger, and T. G. Nutter giving short talks. Speakers at the evening meeting were Dr. Charles H. Houston, who talked on the University of Missouri case; and Dr. Louis T. Wright, chairman of the national board of directors, who talked on the National Public Health Program. Dr. William Lloyd Imes, a director, presented the merit medal to Dr. J. M. Tinsley for outstanding work within the N.A.A.C.P., and life membership medals to the Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority, Duke Ellington, Marshall Field and Dr. John L. Reeves. Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton presided.

Friday morning saw the winding up of the discussion of branch problems with Dean William Pickens in the chair.

Friday afternoon, with P. B. Young, Sr., of Norfolk, Va., presiding, saw one of the most interesting discussions of the entire conference, a panel on civil rights. Hubert T. Delany, New York; James M. Nabrit, Washington; Leon A. Ransom, Washington; Thurgood Marshall, New York; and Grace Towns Hamilton, of Memphis, Tenn., were the speakers.

Dr. Arthur Raper, research director of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation at Atlanta, Ga., delivered the principal address at the youth night meeting Friday. Other speakers were James H. Robinson, W. Willeroy Wells, and Edward Strong.

Delegates to the 30th annual conference of the N.

At the closing business session Saturday morning, it was voted to hold the 1940 conference in Philadelphia, Pa. The report of the resolutions committee was adopted. See resolutions in full below. Gloster Current, of Detroit, Mich.; Dr. J. M. Tinsley, of Richmond, Va.; and Dr. Lee B. Ferguson, of Waterloo, Iowa, were elected as members of the nominating committee for the board of directors.

Saturday night, the play "Place: America" written and directed by Thomas Richardson, was staged in the Armstrong high school.

Among the special activities of the conference were the Walter White Birthday Luncheon Friday noon, the annual youth dinner Friday evening, the youth dance, Friday night, and the boatride down the James river Saturday afternoon.

The Sunday afternoon meeting, presided over by Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin was broadcast over two large networks —NBC and CBS. Walter White, N.A.A.C.P. secretary, delivered a fighting speech to the delegates reviewing the work of the past year and calling for renewed activity. The conference received words of welcome from Governor James H. Price.

The 5,000 people within The Mosque and the 4,000 who stood in the park outside listening over loud speakers were thrilled at the response of Miss Anderson who, after a few words, asked the audience to join her and Harry T. Burleigh (another Spingarn medalist) in singing the spiritual "We Are Climbing Jacob's Ladder."

The conference received the greatest and most detailed publicity in the daily papers in Richmond in its history, with both morning and afternoon papers carrying full accounts of the sessions and numerous pictures.

Youth Section

The youth section of the conference was attended by 177 delegates from 21 states and 53 cities, together with a large number of visiting young people. Separate morning sessions were held in the Leigh Street Methodist Church, while afternoon and evening sessions were held jointly with the senior branches at the Fifth Street Baptist Church.

Rev. James H. Robinson, Acting Youth Director, had the able assistance of William Richardson, president of the Richmond youth council, and a special conference committee from the youth council, composed of Grace Matthews, radio chairman; LaCountess Blaney, exhibits chairman; Thelma Archer, literature chairman; Rosalie Britton, ushering chairman; Alma Jackson, dance chairman; Anthony Gee, fellowship dinner chairman; E. W. Whitlow, membership chairman, and Mrs. Gladys Randolph, publicity chairman.

The Wednesday morning session was presided over by Thomas Guinn, president of the Chicago Illinois youth council. The theme for discussion, Labor Problems and Organization, had the following speakers:

Brank Fulton, N. Y.; George Smith, Delta Cooperative Farm, Rochdale, Miss.; Ann Caution, Oklahoma City, Okla.; John Holly, Cleveland, O.

On Thursday morning, Roy L. Hopkins, president of the Houston, Texas youth council presided. A panel discussion on Physical Security and Civil Rights was held, with Thurgood Marshall as chairman, assisted by John Holly, George Smith, Brank Fulton, L. Pearl Mitchell, Edward Strong, Marjorie McKinzie and William T. McKnight.

The latter part of the morning session was given over to a debate between the Boston and Detroit youth councils on, "Resolved: That a system of socialized medicine be adopted as a federal policy by the United States." The affirmative was taken by the Boston council, while Detroit handled the negative. The Oregon plan was used, thus permitting the delegates to question the debaters. Detroit was adjudged the winner.

Friday was designated as Youth Day. The morning session was presided over by Mildred Anderson, secretary of the Buffalo youth council. Talks were given by Walter White, James H. Robinson, Dr. James J. McClendon and Gloster Current.

In the afternoon, study clinics were held on youth problems with the following leaders: Finance, E. Frederic Morrow; Organization, James H. Robinson; Multiple Councils, Gloster Current.

The fellowship banquet, given by youth delegates at each conference in honor of the national officers and board members, was held Friday evening at 6 P.M. in the Maggie L. Walker high school.

Rev. James H. Robinson, recently appointed Acting Youth Director, was presented with a fitted traveling case by the youth section of the conference.

The youth mass meeting was held on Friday evening at 8 p.m., with Gloster Current presiding. The theme was Problems of the South.

The climax of a full day of youth activities was the dance at the Mosque ballroom after the Friday evening meeting. The affair, attended by more than 600 youth delegates and friends, was

A.A.C.P. in Richmond, Va., June 27-July 2, 1939

conceived, planned, financed and successfully carried out in two and a half days, all responsibility being borne by the Richmond youth council.

All during the week, an excellent exhibit of work done by the various youth groups was on display. It consisted of posters, pictures, handbills, programs, monthly publications and newspaper clippings, and covered all phases of local youth work, and participation in the national program.

A list of recommendations made by the youth section to the board of directors will be published in the October issue.

The resolutions in full:

CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS

Adopted at Richmond, Va., July 1, 1939

PREAMBLE

Whereas, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and its leadership for more than thirty years have evolved a philosophy that has progressively militated toward the wholesome inclusion of the Negro in the general citizenship privileges of America; and whereas this philosophy has emanated from the cooperative working and planning of both white and colored members and not from any isolated or single factor, be it resolved that this convention re-affirm its faith in, urge its continuance of, and call upon all the citizenship to reinforce the battle lines already established and thereby insure eventual success.

I. ECONOMIC RIGHTS

Low Cost Housing

We protest any racial discrimination in the employment and promotion of employees in construction of low cost housing projects and in the selection of tenants and the appointment and promotion of administrative officers in such projects fostered or financed by or with federal funds. We urge the inclusion of at least one Negro on every local housing authority.

Federal Housing Authority

We protest the use of race as a basis for the rejection of loans in particular neighborhoods in either the Underwriters' Manual or other instruction notices issued by the Federal Housing Administration. We also protest any forms of racial discrimination or segregation in either the approval of loans or the amounts thereof by local FHA units. We urge the inclusion of Negroes in the administration of both national and local units of FHA.

Social Security

1. We recommend that the Congress of the United States enact such legislation as will include all agricultural and domestic workers, as well as others in low income brackets in those parts of Social Security from which they are now excluded.

We oppose any cuts in NYA, WPA, and particularly in the Federal Arts Projects. We take the position that those persons who are removed from WPA, NYA and relief rolls should be reasonably assured of employment.

2. We recommend further that the States administering old age assistance be urged to modify rules governing proof of eligibility so far as age and citizenship are concerned for those who are entitled to the grant prior to 1950.

Miss L. Pearl Mitchell, Cleveland, O., receiving a life membership medal from Dr. Wm. Lloyd Imes for the Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority

Creating Job Opportunities

We urge local branches to create or cooperate with other agencies sponsoring job opportunity campaigns; and to establish a clearing bureau for the exchange of techniques with all branches.

Labor Unions

We urge the present Congress and the legislatures of the several states having little Wagner Acts to revise the Wagner Labor Act so as to prevent discriminatory practices on the basis of race, creed or color by prohibiting the unions which have color bars from becoming sole bargaining agencies.

We urge that Federal funds not be allocated for purchase or contract where labor unions discriminate on account of race, creed or color.

We urge Negro workers to affiliate with labor unions whenever said union policies operate for their protection.

We urge that immediate effort be made to secure a Negro member on the National Labor Relations Board.

II. POLITICAL RIGHTS

Negro Vote and Political Action

With the coming year destined to be one of the most important in the history of the United States on account of the importance of the impending national elections, the N.A.A.C.P. again affirms its nonpartisan position in all local, state and national campaigns.

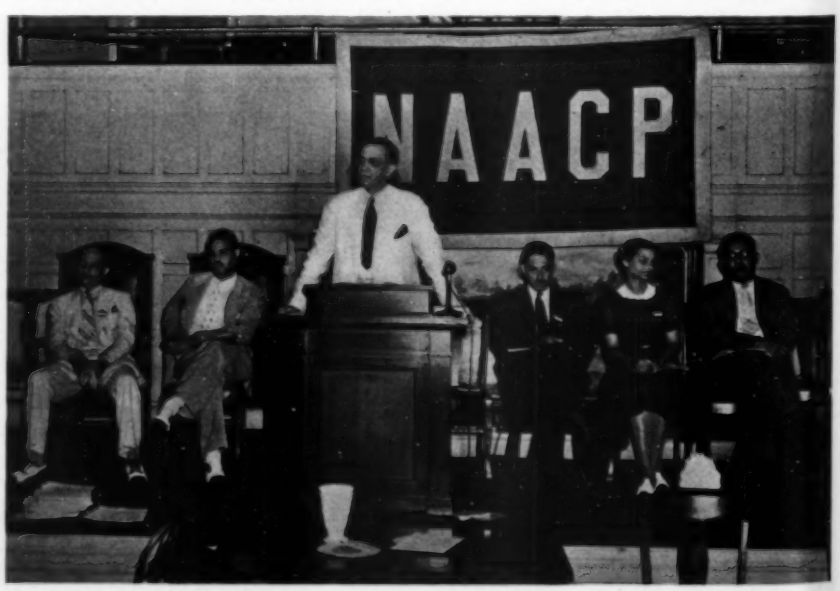
However, if democracy is to continue government by the people, we feel it our duty as always (1) to urge all Negroes to register and vote; (2) to continue bringing all pressure to bear to break down the bars against voting, and (3) to win more friends among those whites who believe that America as a democracy is bound to suffer where a large portion of its people has no voice in its government.

The Negro voters north of the Mason and Dixon line are particularly urged to season well their thinking and voting so that it may favorably influence those political factors that qualify the registration and voting of Negroes south of the Mason and Dixon line.

While it is the policy of the N.A.A.C.P. that neither the Association nor any of its branches, as branches or organizations, shall engage or participate in partisan politics, this does not restrict the freedom of all members as individuals.

III. FILIBUSTERING AND LYNCHING

We urge upon Americans of all races and in all sections of the country to demand of their congressmen who have not done so to sign the discharge petition and vote for the anti-lynching bill, in view of the fact that we can never hope to get a vote on this bill without the imposition of cloture. No Senator



The panel on civil rights: Editor P. B. Young of Norfolk, Va., presiding; left to right: James M. Nebrit, Hubert T. Delany, Thurgood Marshall, Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton, and Dr. Leon A. Ransom

who does not vote for cloture will be considered a friend of anti-lynching legislation.

In addition, we pledge a continuous fight by the N.A.A.C.P. against lynching and for an anti-lynching bill.

III. GOVERNMENTAL APPOINTMENTS

We urge upon the President, his cabinet, heads of Federal departments, and the governors of the several states to give Negroes opportunity to use their gifts for the benefit of all the people, through the greater integration of Negroes in the personnel of the various governmental agencies.

In addition, we call the attention of the President ot the patient preparation that Negroes have made to be useful citizens and of their brilliant performance whenever given opportunity. We therefore urge the President to consider the appointment of qualified Negroes to federal judgeships, to responsible positions in the reorganization of the branches of the government now going on, and to membership on the Federal Civil Service Commission and to other commissions.

IV. DISCRIMINATION IN ARMY AND NAVY

In a world in which there are overwhelming threats of war, we call the attention of the people of the United States, the President and the Congress to the continued discriminations against Negroes in the Army, Navy and Air Forces of the United States, because of their race. We strongly urge the abolition of these color bars, in order that Negroes who have always defended their country, may not continue suffering because of the discrimination against their entering the various branches of the armed forces, both military and civil.

We urge, especially, that in all the current plans for defense and for extending aviation training, that Negroes be wholeheartedly and specifically included, both as a sign of the real democratic nature of the United States and in order that Negroes may unflinchingly want to protect their country again.

V. CIVIL RIGHTS

We urge state legislation with adequate penalties to prevent discrimination against persons because of race, creed or color, by persons or places operated for the public and maintained with public as well as private funds.

Immediate plans should be inaugurated so as to stimulate public interest toward creating adequate, equal rights laws in all states.

We heartily endorse and urge the passage of the Kopplemann civil rights bill, now pending in Congress, for the District of Columbia.

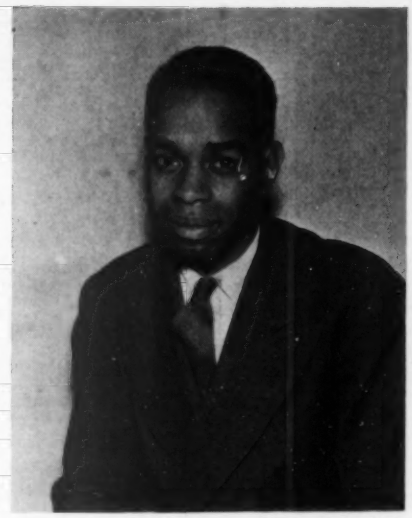
Flagrant abuse of the elementary constitutional rights of all citizens will be zealously watched and prosecuted when necessary before the highest authorities.

We believe the citizens of Washington, D. C., should be enfranchised and we urge the members throughout the country to write their congressmen and request their support of such legislation.

We deplore with great earnestness the undemocratic and un-American action of the Daughters of the American Revolution and of the Board of Education of Washington, D. C., in refusing Marian Anderson, Spingarn Medalist, a proper place to sing. We urge that every force be used to open all halls, public and private, to all artists regardless of race.

The association views with alarm the decisions of the highest courts of Michigan, Missouri, Maryland and New York upholding restrictive covenants in deeds and contracts entered into by private owners of property, prohibiting the conveying, devising, leasing or renting of property to any person of African descent or to members of the Negro race. Such agreements violate the principle of contracts, are un-American, and are in violation of the fundamental rights of property and of the law of the land, and are undemocratic in principle.

We renew our support of the Scottsboro Defense Committee, of which the N.A.A.C.P. is a member, to the end that these boys may be wholly freed of punishment or blame for a crime of which the entire world knows them to be wholly innocent.



Morgan Smith Photo

THOMAS RICHARDSON

The presentation of "Place: America" at the 30th annual conference of the N.A.A.C.P. marked the first production in the South of a living newspaper play on Negro life.

The author, Thomas Richardson, is a native of Washington, D. C. After leaving Virginia Union university, Mr. Richardson organized, with Sterling Brown, the Negro Repertory Players of Washington. This was in 1934 and was the beginning of a career of outstanding service in the theatre. Since that time the young playwright has worked steadily as actor, writer and director. Two of his scripts, "Dead Men Don't Dance" and "Protest," were produced by the Washington group. He was a member of the original touring company of "Stevedore" and his latest stage appearance found him with Paul Robeson in "The Emperor Jones" during the last week in June.

In 1937 Mr. Richardson returned to Virginia and organized the Richmond Community Theatre, one of the thriving institutions of the community. He is now on leave from the Richmond group, spending the summer months in New York as guest executive director of the Harlem Suitcase theatre.

VI. EDUCATION

The N.A.A.C.P. favors universal education, equality in school terms, teachers' salaries, and school facilities. Where separate schools are maintained the standards should be the same. When federal monies shall be allocated for education to any state or territory, maintaining separate schools by law, they shall be distributed on the basis of the number of eligible children of the separate groups in said state. Where there are separate land grant colleges maintained by a state the monies shall be allocated in the proportion which the Negro population bears to the whole.

University of Missouri Case

We urge the continuation of the fight to enter the University of Missouri in order to get the benefit of the supreme court decision on the Gaines case. We further condemn the present action of the Missouri legislature to appease by inadequate substitutions.

We call upon the President of the United States to enforce recognition and execution of the supreme court's decision in Gaines v. University of Missouri case.

VII. CIVIL SERVICE

The Association endorses the principle of Civil Service but condemns unreservedly the discrimination against persons because of race, creed or color, and the manner in which civil service is administered in the several departments in the Federal government, and in a number of the States.

The vicious system requiring applicants' photographs to be submitted with applications should be discontinued at once. All applicants should be appointed according to their numerical standing on Civil Service rolls and not as now provided by Civil Service Rule VII.

VIII. PUBLIC HEALTH AND MEDICAL SERVICE

We condemn discrimination or neglect of Negro citizens by community, city, county, state or federal medical health agencies.

Wherever federal funds are appropriated for medical or health purposes in states maintaining separate units for medical or health service, such funds shall not be granted until evidence is given that the funds will be allocated according to the needs of the several units.

We pledge ourselves to an active and sustained fight through direct political action and public opinion to make available to all citizens the facilities of every hospital, medical school and health agency, to the end that identical services and health agencies be furnished to all citizens.

IX. SOCIAL AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

1. Anti-Semitism

We extend our sympathies to all other minority groups who at this time are being violated physically, or losing their civil rights because of their race, color, or creed; we condemn especially the treatment of the Jews under Fascism and Naziism, and we deplore evidence of anti-Semitism in America.

We urge strongly that Negroes and all liberty-loving Americans speak out against Jew-baiting here and against the threatened resurrection of the Ku Klux Klan.

2. Peace

In the midst of wars and threats of wars and national confusions, we counsel the Negro to exhibit poise, and to support the cause

of peace and to avoid entangling alliances, national and international.

X. MEDAL FOR MATT HENSON

We urge upon Congress prompt action on the bills now pending to give a Congressional medal of honor to Matt Henson, the only living human being who has set foot on the North Pole and who, like Peary, brought honor to America by reaching the North Pole first.

Whereas the staff members of the national office have given such unselfish and self-sacrificing service to the cause of the N.A.A.C.P. and have carried on the fight on all fronts with unswerving determination, and were very successful in the various campaigns;

Be it resolved that the whole-hearted thanks go out to them from the members of this conference.

Be it further resolved that we continue our whole support to the causes they have advanced so nobly.

We wish to extend to the Richmond, Va., branch of the N.A.A.C.P., participating choirs, pastors and officers of the Fifth Street Baptist Church, the Leigh Street Methodist Church, and Boy Scout Troops and Girl Scout Troops, and the public in general, the hearty and sincere appreciation of the delegates and friends of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People herein assembled. We also desire to express our profound respect and gratitude to the daily and weekly press for their most fair and liberal reporting of events of this conference.

We appreciate the hospitality and courtesies extended us by the governor of Virginia and by the Mayor and the police department of Richmond.

Respectfully submitted,

Committee on Resolutions

(Signed) C. A. Hansberry, Chicago, Ill., Chairman; Geneva R. Woods, Baltimore, Md., Secretary; E. E. Utterback, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Prince Clark, Detroit, Mich.; W. A. Traynham, New York; A. W. Wells, Jackson Miss.; C. W. Rice, Houston, Tex.; Mrs. Gladys Carr, Des Moines, Iowa; Rev. W. G. Anderson, Danville, Va.; Jerry O. Gilliam, Norfolk, Va.; H. M. Ruffin, Northumberland County, Va.; Rev. Kelly Goodwin, Reading, Pa.; Mrs. Mary James, Prince George County, Md.; J. E. Mitchell, St. Louis, Mo.; Walter Brown, Birmingham, Ala.; W. A. J. Bullock Chickasha, Okla.; N. W. Griffin, Jacksonville, Florida; R. S. Grant, Rockford, Ill.; D. W. Anthony, Princeton, N. J.; G. James Fleming, Philadelphia, Pa.; C. I. Moat, Media, Pa.; Samuel Ridley, Newton, Kans.; Milton Fields, Waterloo, Iowa; C. H. Williamson, Henderson, N. C.; Barbee Wm. Durham, Columbus, Ohio; W. Harold Flowers, Pine Bluff, Ark.; Miss Marjorie Robinson, Montclair, N. J.; Garrison Bowser, Brooklyn, N. Y.; W. J. Williams, Atlanta, Ga.; Miss La Countess Blaine, Richmond, Va.; Charles Harris, Detroit, Mich.

Gets Degree

Mrs. Emily W. Bishop of Towson, Md., was awarded the master of arts degree at the University of Pennsylvania in June. She expects to begin work on her Ph.D. in September.

Branch News

Alabama: The Mobile Branch held a meeting on June 26 at the Metropolitan A.M.E. church. Rev. A. E. Williams, pastor of the church, delivered a stirring address listing the contributions of the Branch toward the progress of the colored people in the community. The meeting was in celebration of the fourteenth anniversary of the Branch.

Arkansas: The Little Rock Branch held its regular monthly meeting at the Phyllis Wheatley Y.W.C.A. on July 9.

Connecticut: The Bridgeport-Stratford Branch meeting on July 7 was held at the East End Presbyterian church. Reports of the mass meeting and conference recently held at the Lincoln School and Burroughs library were made.

Dr. Allen F. Jackson, president of the Hartford Branch, is the spearhead of the movement being launched by the Branch to obtain white collar jobs for colored residents of Hartford.

Delaware: The Wilmington Branch presented Walter White, executive secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., as guest speaker at its meeting on June 22 at Howard high school. The meeting was one of the most outstanding ones held in Wilmington in many years.

District of Columbia: The July meeting of the District of Columbia Branch was held at the Twelfth Street Y.M.C.A., July 11. Plans for activities were discussed and delegates reported on the 30th Annual Conference of the Association, held in Richmond.

Illinois: The Chicago Branch received the gate receipts from a baseball game between the American Giants and the Pittsburgh Crawfords on Sunday, July 9. Joe Louis threw out the first ball.

The regular meeting of the Waugekan Branch was held at the Trinity A.M.E. church, July 23.

Indiana: According to a recent decision handed down by the Grand Superior Court of Indiana, Negroes may be barred from the lower floor of theatres in Indiana. This decision was returned in a suit brought by Mrs. F. Katherine Bailey, president of the Indiana State Conference of N.A.A.C.P. Branches.

Kansas: The Newton Branch held a mass meeting at the C.M.E. church on August 11. Samuel Ridley, president of the Branch, gave the principal address. A report of the 30th Annual Conference was made by Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Mannon.

Michigan: The recently closed membership campaign of the Detroit Branch has broken all previous records in the history of the Association with its enrolment of more than 5,000 members. Memberships are still coming in.

The chairmen of the campaign were: Mrs. Havana Butler, general chairman; Theodore Jones, co-chairman. The Navy Division was headed by Mrs. W. A. Thompson; the Army by Dr. James J. McClendon. Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin, field secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., directed the campaign.

Three cups were donated by the following: The Great Lakes Mutual Life Insurance Company, Porter's Distinctive Dry Cleaners, and the Western Union Mutual Insurance Company. Dr. W. A. Thompson received a cup as captain of the team bringing in the most memberships. Mrs. Ida Mae Watson received a cup as the individual worker bringing in the most money. Mrs. Helen Wilson received the cup as the individual worker bringing in the most memberships.

The Youth Council campaign chairman was Lincoln Gordon.

New York: The Branch being organized at Peekskill held a meeting on July 15. Guest speakers were J. F. Cheatham, president of the Ossining Branch, who reported on the Annual Conference, and Chester Smith of Peekskill.

The Ossining Branch held its regular meeting at the Bethlehem Baptist church on July 25.

The White Plains Branch is active in a move to curb alleged police brutality or to secure appointment of a Negro policeman.

Dr. Edward E. Bess was elected president of the New Rochelle Branch at the July meeting. His election followed the acceptance of the resignation of Mr. Lee Crawford. Mr. Crawford was forced to resign because of ill health. The Branch plans to give a dinner in his honor in the near future.

The Rochester Branch scotched an attempt to segregate young William Warfield and James E. Rose, sons of two prominent ministers and members of the Rochester inter-high school choir, which sang at the World's Fair on June 3. While the white members of the choir were to be quartered at the Governor Clinton hotel, it was planned to have Warfield and Rose stay at the Harlem Y.M.C.A. Through pressure brought by the local Branch the young men were given accommodations with the other members of the choir.

Ohio: The reports of Akron delegates to the Annual Conference in Richmond were heard on Sunday, July 23 at a mass meeting of the Akron Branch, held at the Second Baptist church.

Clarence G. Smith, Toledo attorney, was the guest speaker at the meeting of the Allen County Branch on July 9.

Pennsylvania: The Media Branch held its regular monthly meeting on July 6 at Second Baptist church. The pastor of the church, Rev. H. C. Lee, delivered an address and there was an oratorical contest.

A special feature at the July meeting of the New Castle Branch was a panel discussion on peace action by four college students who were visiting the community to carry out a peace action program. Miss Perle Peoples of Texas was the guest soloist.

Three members of the Bryn Mawr Branch attended the 30th Annual Conference in Richmond: O. B. Cobb, president of the Pennsylvania State Conference; Mrs. Mary Tucker, and Mrs. Pearl Booth.

Dr. James A. Gillespie of New Castle was the principal speaker at a rally at the Mt. Zion Baptist church, sponsored by the Hollisdaysburg Branch, on July 9.

Texas: The Houston Branch held a meeting at the Payne Chapel A.M.E. church on July 9. The Youth Council observed its second anniversary. Roy L. Hopkins, youth council president who attended the Richmond Conference, was principal speaker.

Virginia: The Hopewell Branch sponsored an entertainment at Davis Hall in Dreamland Park on July 28. Barbecue supper was served. An address was delivered by Atty. R. H. Cooley of Petersburg.

The Petersburg Branch held its monthly meeting at the community center on July 17. Reports of the delegates who attended the Richmond Conference were heard.

Rev. A. L. James, pastor of the First Baptist Church, gave an address listing the achievements of the N.A.A.C.P., at a meeting of the Roanoke Branch, Sunday, July 16.

West Virginia: Mrs. T. G. Nutter, chairman of the program committee of the Charleston Branch, in announcing the Branch's program for 1939–40, pointed out that Marian Anderson will be presented in a recital by the Branch in the new municipal auditorium in April.

J. E. Spingarn

(*Continued from page 270*)

San Antonio *Register*

"In the passing July 26 of Col. Joel E. Spingarn, for the past nine years president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the race loses a most valuable friend and champion, and the world a rugged individualist who, despite wealth, influence, and a distinguished position as a man of letters, devoted much of his life to the cause of the underdog."

New York *Post*

"As soldier, poet, horticulturist and teacher, Joel E. Spingarn influenced his generation; but if his name survives it will be the result of the annual award of the Spingarn Medal.

"The Spingarn Medal provides a symbol of aspiration for millions of men and women and its award calls attention to the contributions made by the Negro year in and year out to the civilization of this country. It also will honor the memory of a man of understanding and courage."

The Pittsburgh *Courier*

"Mr. Spingarn was one of the select few in this country to be at all times uncompromising on equal rights and national interest, the forces of bigotry and obscurantism, privileges for colored people with white people, thereby shaming some of the colored people themselves."

Philadelphia *Independent*

"Death wrote finis to the career of Joel E. Spingarn but it can never erase from the pages of memory the great good that he did for the Negroes of America, and the world."

Philadelphia *Tribune*

"Mr. Spingarn is among the last of those advocates who refused to compromise with injustice regardless of the form it took. He gave freely of his great intellect to help the oppressed. He never paraded as a liberal. His deeds made him one of those great souls who will live forever in the hearts of his fellowmen."

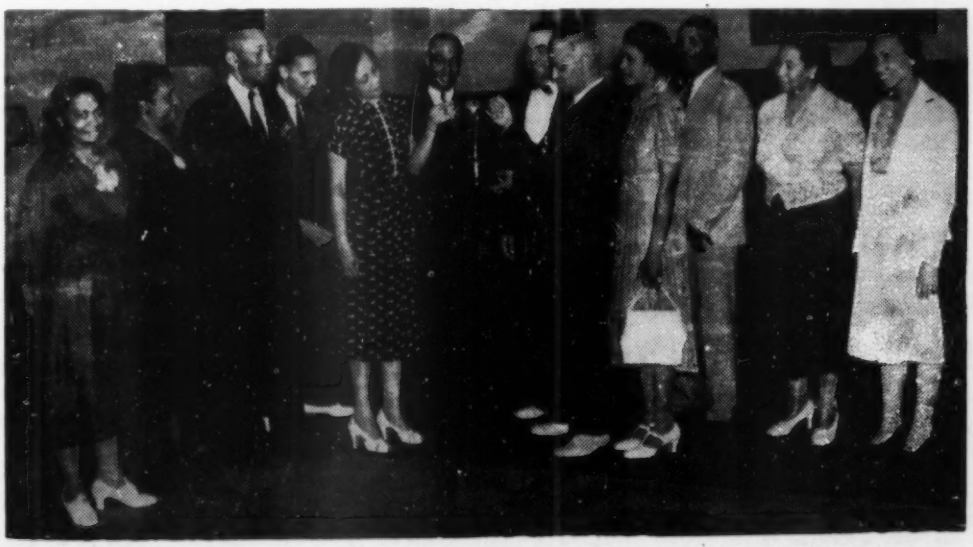
Channing H. Tobias
(for the Y.M.C.A.)

"Mr. Spingarn was a truly great humanitarian in every sense of the word. When the principle of equality of rights for all men was at stake, he knew no compromise—always insisting that the letter and the spirit of the law be complied with. As one of the founders and, at the time of his death, the president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, he gave unsparingly of his time, energy and means for making that organization more and more effective in its battle for full recognition of citizenship rights for the American Negro."

Indianapolis *Recorder*

"In the death of J. E. Spingarn, this country loses a great American and the world must mourn one of its finest citizens."

(*Continued on page 286*)



N.A.A.C.P. Trophy Winners: *Pictured above with the members of his team is Dr. W. A. Thompson, a captain in the recently closed Detroit Branch N.A.A.C.P. membership drive, who won the trophy awarded the captain of the team bringing in the largest number of memberships. Team members reading from left to right are: Mrs. J. Donovan, Mrs. C. C. Strickland, Walter Kendrick, Mrs. Irene Woods, Arthur Thompson, I. B. Holley, Dr. W. A. Thompson, Robert J. Evans, Miss Rose Barrett, Moses Woods, Mrs. Moses Woods and Mrs. Eloise Hopkins. The Thompson team brought in 399 memberships totaling $427.50 and their number of after-campaign memberships is still growing.*

LEGAL DIRECTORY

Responding to frequent inquiries, THE CRISIS carries herewith the names and addresses with telephone numbers of some of the 1300 colored attorneys in the United States, purely as a service to those seeking such information. THE CRISIS does not maintain a legal bureau, as many readers seem to think, and the N.A.A.C.P. concerns itself only with cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizenship rights. Lawyers whose names do not appear below are requested to write to THE CRISIS.

ALABAMA

Arthur D. Shores
701-2 Colored Masonic Building, Birmingham, Ala.
Telephones: Office, 3-6981; Res., 6-4924

ARKANSAS

Scipio A. Jones,
201 Century Building, Little Rock, Ark.
Telephone: 4-0907

CALIFORNIA

Thomas L. Griffith, Jr.
1105 East Vernon, Los Angeles, Calif.
Telephone: Century 2-9078

H. L. Richardson
1557 Seventh St., Oakland, Calif.
Telephone: Templebar 5998

Curtis C. Taylor
2510 Central Ave., Los Angeles, Calif.
Telephone: Century 2-7844

DELAWARE

Louis L. Redding,
1002 French Street, Wilmington, Del.
Telephone: 3-1924

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

William I. Blake,
221 S Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.
Telephone: North 2873

Thomas P. Bomar,
136 S Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.
Decatur 2353

Jno. H. Clinton
1408 Tenth St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Telephone: Decatur 5694

Lawson & Berry,
2001 11th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.
Telephone: Potomac 5725

George Arthur Parker,
1922 13th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.
Home: Republic 2136; Office: North 8843

Maurice R. Weeks
604 D Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.
Telephone: Metropolitan-8853
Adams-1474

FLORIDA

S. D. McGill,
610 West Duval Street, Jacksonville, Fla.
Telephone: 6-2212

D. W. Perkins
Col. Masonic Temple, 410 Broad St., Jacksonville, Fla.
Telephones: Office 5-0739; Res. 5-6712-J

GEORGIA

Austin T. Walden,
428 Herndon Building, Atlanta, Ga.
Walnut 3536

ILLINOIS

Benjamin W. Clayton
3456 Indiana Ave., Suite 4, Chicago, Ill.
Telephone: Calumet 7123

Irvin C. Mollison
180 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
Telephone: Randolph 1094

C. Francis Stradford,
12 West Garfield Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
Telephone: Drexel 171

INDIANA

William Henry Huff
All Nations Hall Building, East Chicago, Ind.
Telephone: Oakland 2848

KANSAS

Forrest B. Anderson
512 State Avenue, Kansas City, Kansas
Telephone: Drexel 6559

L. W. Johnson
436 Minnesota Ave., Kansas City, Kans.
Telephone: Fairfax 3867

KENTUCKY

Charles W. Anderson, Jr. & Prentice Thomas
614 West Walnut St., Louisville, Ky.
Telephone: Wabash 4765

MARYLAND

Emory R. Cole
14 East Pleasant Street, Baltimore, Md.
Telephone: Vernon 7390

Gregory Hawkins
1210 Pennsylvania Avenue, Baltimore, Md.
Telephone: Madison 0411

George W. F. McMechen,
14 E. Pleasant Street, Baltimore, Md.
Vernon 5205

MASSACHUSETTS

Irwin T. Dorch,
110 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass.
Liberty 3619

MICHIGAN

Oscar W. Baker and Oscar W. Baker, Jr.
506-9 Bay City Bank Building, Bay City, Mich.
Telephones: Office: 286; Res. 3404

Herbert Dudley
4256 Russell St., Detroit, Mich.
Telephone: Terrace 2-9134

Willis M. Graves
446 E. Warren Ave., Detroit, Mich.
Telephone: Terrace 2-8617

Judson B. Powell
405 Gratiot Ave., Detroit, Mich.
Telephone: Clifford 0274

MISSISSIPPI

James A. Burns
2513 5th St., Meridian, Miss.
Telephone: 9388

MISSOURI

Frank S. Bledsoe
11 N. Jefferson Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.
Telephone: Franklin 2153

W. Franklin Clark
208 Lincoln Building, Kansas City, Mo.
Telephone: Harrison 7979

William A. Cole
23 N. Jefferson Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
Telephone: Central 6984

John A. Davis
11 No. Jefferson Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.
Telephone: Jefferson 0398

Clark S. Frazier
11 N. Jefferson Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
Telephone: Franklin 9170

Harrison W. Hollie
11 N. Jefferson, Suite 206, St. Louis, Mo.
Telephone: Jefferson 3618

MISSOURI—Continued

Ellis S. Outlaw
3140 Pine Street, St. Louis, Mo.
Telephones: JE 8257; JE 8381

R. Edwin Parker
3970½ Finney Avenue
St. Louis, Missouri

W. D. Shavers
823a North Jefferson Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.
Telephone: Franklin 7204

Eli H. Taylor
Peoples Finance Building,
11 N. Jefferson Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.
Telephone: Franklin 9066

Harvey V. Tucker
11 North Jefferson, St. Louis, Mo.
Telephone: Fr. 2153

George W. Wade
4307 Labadie Avenue, St. Louis, Mo
Telephone: Goodfellow 5444

Emanuel Williams
2349 Market, St. Louis, Mo.
Telephone: Central 6984

NEW YORK

William Pickens, Jr.,
38 Park Row, New York, N. Y.
Rector 2-1637

Cuthbert P. Spencer
209 West 125th Street, New York, N. Y.
Telephone: Monument 2-3518

Frank Alexander Walker
450 St. Nicholas Avenue, New York, N. Y.
Telephone: Edgecombe 4-0970

H. Eustace Williams,
2525 Seventh Avenue, New York, N. Y.
Telephone: Edgecombe 4-3443

NORTH CAROLINA

M. Hugh Thompson, Esq.
P. O. Box 486, Durham, N. C.
Telephone: J-2751

F. W. Williams,
Winston-Salem, N. C.
Telephone: 7955

OHIO

Chester K. Gillespie
241 Euclid Avenue—Cleveland, Ohio
Telephone—Cherry 1835

Heslip & Gibson,
1731 Nicholas Building, Toledo, O.
Main 2645

Howard and Dickerson
312 Federal Building, Youngstown, Ohio
Telephone: 3-5695

Lawson & Berry
308 West 5th Street, Cincinnati, O.
Telephone: Parkway 5172

William T. McKnight,
724-730 Security Bank Building, Toledo, O.
Adams 9208

Charles W. White
204 City Hall, Cleveland, O.
Telephone: Cherry 0970

PENNSYLVANIA

Raymond Pace Alexander
1900 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Rittenhouse 9960, 9961, 9962, 9963

Robert D. Baskervill
526 South 16th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Telephone: Kingsley 1710

G. Edward Dickerson
N.W. cor. 16th & Bainbridge Sts., Philadelphia, Pa.
Telephone: Kingsley 2715

(Concluded on next page)

LEGAL DIRECTORY — *Continued*

PENNSYLVANIA—Continued

Theron B. Hamilton
806 Wylie Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Telephone: Grant 3137; Residence: Schenly 3298

Leroy Humbert
529 S. 19th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Telephone: Pen. 6211

Oliver L. Johnson
806 Wylie Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Telephone: At 8729

William A. Pollard
520 South 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Telephone: Pennypacker 0258

E. Washington Rhodes
526 S. 16th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Telephone: Kingsley 1710

Theodore O. Spaulding
716 South 19th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Telephone: Pennypacker 7071

TENNESSEE

Carl A. Cowan
100½ E. Vine Avenue, Knoxville, Tenn.
Telephone: 2-1689

W. Henry Elmore
124½ East 9th Street, Chattanooga, Tenn.
Telephone: 6-8465

Coyness L. Ennix
419 4th Avenue, N.; Nashville, Tenn.
Telephone: 5-3011

James H. Lester
409 Gay St., B.Y.P.U. Bldg., Nashville, Tenn.
Telephone 6-3209

J. Bliss White
213 E. Ninth Street Chattanooga, Tenn.
Telephones: 6-2277 and 6-9270

VIRGINIA

Jas. T. Carter,
214 E. Clay Street, Richmond, Va.
Telephone: 3-5194

W. W. Forman
932 Church St., Norfolk, Va.
Telephone: Dial 27237

WEST VIRGINIA

Harry J. Capehart & Leon P. Miller
18 Virginia Avenue, Welch, W. Va.
Telephone: 289

C. E. Kimbrough, Sr., and Willard L. Brown
1002½ Washington St., Charleston, W. Va.
Telephone: 31-931

Mrs. Roosevelt

(*Continued from page 265*)

ing, for more sympathy, for more realization of your problems, for more people who are working with you who perhaps were not even aware that you had certain problems a few years ago. I know that as I look back over ten years, fifteen years, I am very grateful for what I have learned, for what I have come to understand about the problems of many people in this country. I am hopeful that I personally have become a more useful citizen; and for that reason I am grateful for the feeling that I have that every one of you here today is able to be a more useful citizen than he or she could have been ten years ago.

And now I want to say a word about the recipient of the medal. Perhaps her marvelous voice cannot be counted as a personal achievement, for it was a gift. She not only did the necessary work to develop this gift but she developed herself as an individual. She had the courage to meet many difficulties. She has always had great dignity; and her modesty and her dignity together with her great gift have gained for her wide recognition in the field of music.

And now I am glad to have been chosen to give you this medal, Miss Anderson, for your achievement far transcends any question of race. It is an achievement in the field of art, and this medal is given to you in recognition of the perfection of your art. My thanks and good wishes go with you, Miss Anderson, for you bring to this country as a whole not only enjoyment but much beauty. And I now give you the Spingarn Medal which is given every year for great achievement to a member of your race.

Response of Miss Anderson

Mrs. Roosevelt, Governor Price, Honored Guests and Friends:

I consider it a great honor to accept, or rather to receive, the Spingarn Medal. I thank each member of the Committee who felt that I might be worthy of the award. I realize the significance of the honor and feel a growing responsibility. I feel it a signal honor to have received the medal from the hands of our First Lady who is not a first lady in name only but in her every deed.

I wish to thank also and congratulate the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for those things which they have been able to accomplish in this their convention. There is nothing more that I might say to you. I could not express to you the way I feel. I have been impressed, though, with the words the choir has sung, "We Are Climbing Jacob's Ladder", and I want you to join with Mr. Burleigh and me in singing that song.

Is The Young One Having a Birthday?

TOBE

The profusely illustrated story of a little North Carolina colored lad makes a really ideal present for children from five to ten years old.

$1.00 from The Crisis Book Shop

Spend Where You Can Work!

INSURE WITH NEGRO COMPANIES

They Provide: SECURITY for Loved Ones, JOBS for Trained Negroes and ECONOMIC POWER for the Group

READ AND ACT

The National Negro Insurance Association reported for 1936:

—Assets of $17,434,075.07
—Income of $15,061,347.72
—Insurance in force: $288,963,070.00
—Policies in force: 1,643,125
—Ordinary Insurance: $80,106,234
—Industrial Insurance: $181,961,766.63.
—Health and Accident Insurance: $26,895,069.37
—Employment: 8,150 Negroes
—Policies issued and Revived in 1936: $174,112,773.00
—Increased business, 1936: $65,645,466
—Increase in policies, 1936: 251,047

PLAY SAFE—*Insure with* THESE *Companies*

GOLDEN STATE MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY
Los Angeles, California
LIFE, RETIREMENT INCOME and DISABILITY CONTRACTS
Executive Officers:
Wm. Nickerson, Jr. Geo. A. Beavers, Jr. Norman O. Houston

GREAT LAKES MUTUAL INSURANCE COMPANY
Life Insurance For Every Member of the Family
FREE VISITING NURSE Service to Policy Holders
Home Office—DETROIT, MICHIGAN

Supreme Liberty Life Insurance Co.
Home Office: 3501 S. Parkway, Chicago, Ill.
Agents Wanted in: Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, West Virginia, Maryland, District of Columbia, Missouri, Kentucky and Tennessee.
Increase Employment by Insuring With Us

A Policy for Every Member of the Family
Old Age Benefit—Child's Educational
Retirement—Health & Accident—Endowments
ALL MODERN—ALL RELIABLE
North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company • Durham, North Carolina
C. C. Spaulding, *President*

Advertise to a *Selected Clientele* in THE CRISIS

"Built for Your Protection"
THE DOMESTIC Life & Accident Insurance Company
Louisville, Kentucky
Authorized Capital $150,000.00

Mention THE CRISIS to Our Advertisers

J. E. Springarn

(*Continued from page* 283)

Kansas City *Call*

"In the passing of Joel E. Spingarn, the world at large loses a great humanitarian and literary scholar; the Negro race, a stalwart champion and friend."

Detroit *Tribune*

"Joel E. Spingarn is dead, but the great deeds he wrought for humanity live on. In the hearts of the fourteen million colored people of our country, Mr. Spingarn has built a monument which will long endure."

The Houston *Informer*

"This man of unusual convictions and phenomenal courage gave himself to the cause of fuller freedom for the black man. Already black folk have placed Spingarn in the immortal sky of achievement beside Frederick Douglass, Nat Turner, John Brown, Toussaint L'Overture, Wendell Phillips, and other great champions of human freedom."

The Northwest *Enterprise*

"Few Negroes will ever realize how much we owe to this great lover of human rights and freedom. Always a liberal, he became an uncompromising foe of oppression. Among his last words was his exhortation to the youth councils of the N.A.A.C.P.: 'Take up the battle, fight a good fight.'"

Member Housing Authority

Frank L. Williams, principal of the Vashon high school in St. Louis, Mo., has been appointed a member of the housing authority of that city, according to information received by Nathan Straus, administrator of the United States Housing Authority.

The appointment of the St. Louis educator and civic leader brings to a total of 21 the number of Negroes now serving on local authorities in cities throughout the country. Long a leader in the community life of St. Louis, Mr. Williams is chairman of the Board of Managers of the Pine Street Y.W.C.A., member of the Board of Curators of Lincoln university of Missouri, and president of the New Age Building and Loan Association.

Article on Surgery

In the *Archives of Surgery* for July, 1939, appears an article "Osseous Changes Associated with Lymphogranuloma Venereum" by Dr. Louis T. Wright and Dr. Myra Logan of the staff of Harlem hospital, New York.

WHEN IN NEW YORK

"AMERICA'S LEADING COLORED THEATRE"
APOLLO 125 STREET NEAR 8TH AVENUE
Presenting the World's Outstanding Colored Stars and Orchestras
Performance Continuous 25c to 50c
MIDNIGHT SHOW SATURDAY
WEDNESDAY NIGHT AMATEUR BROADCAST

HATS MADE TO ORDER
Ready made Dresses, Suits, Coats, Underwear, Hosiery, Bags, Gloves.
Mail Orders Accepted
HOUSE OF IRA
2441 7th Ave. at 142nd St., New York City
Telephone: Audubon 3-7502

Phone Edgecombe 8049 Beautiful Chapel Free
RODNEY DADE & BROS.
Efficient and Reliable Service
2244 Seventh Avenue New York City
(Corner of 132nd St.)
Prices to suit all
Our references—anyone of the many we have served

BELSTRAT LAUNDRY CO., INC.
Largest Negro-owned Industry in Harlem
Wet and finished work
51 West 140th St. BRadhurst 2-4282

HOTEL GRAMPION
The Finest Hotel in Harlem
Every Room With Private Bath and Telephone
Tel. UNiversity 6900, 4-6901, 6902
182 St. Nicholas Avenue

NEGRO ART PHOTO-CALENDARS
For Advertising Your Business
Negro subjects artistically posed, home scenes, beautiful women, and children, etc. Advertise your business the modern way. Send stamped, self-addressed envelope for reply.
Catalogue 60c
(50c for 5 Sample Pictures)
NEGRO ART ADVERTISING COMPANY
CAthedral 8-4070 2077 7th Ave., New York City

Read About America's No. 1 Crime
The Amazing Story of a Nation's Orgy
JUDGE LYNCH
By FRANK SHAY
300 Hair-Raising Pages of Mobbism
Every Detail Included
Only $1.00 from The Crisis Book Shop

AFRICA AND WORLD PEACE
BY GEORGE PADMORE
$1.25
An important book for those who wish to understand the present world situation.
order from
THE CRISIS
69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

CLIP AND MAIL TODAY
THE CRISIS,
69 5th Ave., N. Y. City
Please send me THE CRISIS for 10 Months, beginning with the October 1939 Number. I attach One Dollar.
Name: _____
Street: _____
City: _____
(Please Print in Ink)

Mention THE CRISIS to Our Advertisers

An Ideal Picture-Story Book
TOBE
Just the Present for Birthdays from 5 to 9
$1.00 from The Crisis Book Shop

TRAVELERS HOTEL DIRECTORY
Carry This With You When You Travel to Secure Up-to-Date Accommodations

ARIZONA
RICE'S HOTEL
535 E. Jefferson Street Phoenix, Arizona

CALIFORNIA
CLARK HOTEL AND ANNEX
1824 Central Ave., Los Angeles, Calif.
Dining Room, Grill and Bar

MARYLAND
HOTEL YORK
The Most Modern Hostelry
Madison Avenue at Dolphin Street
Baltimore, Md.

MICHIGAN
NORWOOD HOTEL
550 E. Adams Ave., Detroit, Mich.
Comfortable Rooms, Private and Connecting Bath
Dining and Dancing

NEW YORK
HOTEL FANE
A Good Home for You When You Are in New York
205 W. 135th Street New York, N. Y.

OHIO
GREEN TURTLE HOTEL
Running Water in Every Room
Cafe Service De Luxe
Federal and Howard Sts. Akron, O.

MATHEWS HOTEL
A Business With a Soul
Reasonable Rates
77 N. Howard Street Akron, O.

PENNSYLVANIA
DOUGLASS HOTEL
A Complete Hotel Service
Clean — Comfortable — Reasonable
1409 Lombard St. Philadelphia, Pa.

HOTEL LaSALLE
Rooms by Day or Week $1.50 Up
Telephone: Pop. 9371
2026 Ridge Avenue Philadelphia, Pa

TEXAS
HOTEL MURRAY
Telephone Main 1958 218 S. Mesa St.,
El Paso, Texas

RIVER VIEW LODGE
(Storer College)
Transients Welcome — Site — John Brown's Fort
Harper's Ferry — West Virginia
75 Minutes — Washington, D. C.